

coming from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The legislative clerk read the resolution (H. Res. 15) as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow the death of the Honorable T. MILLET HAND, a Representative from the State of New Jersey.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, it is with great sorrow that I announce the death of the Honorable T. MILLET HAND, a Representative in the Congress from the Second District of New Jersey.

In submitting the appropriate resolution, I wish to say that Representative HAND was one of my closest friends, and I had known him for many years. He was one of the most outstanding legislators we have had in Congress for the past 10 or 12 years.

In his memory, I send a resolution to the desk, which I ask unanimous consent to have immediately considered.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 8) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. T. MILLET HAND, late a Representative from the State of New Jersey.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative, the Senate at the conclusion of its business today, take a recess until 12 o'clock noon on Wednesday next.

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleague in sponsoring the resolution which was just agreed to.

DEATH OF CARL HINSHAW, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The resolution (H. Res. 14) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow the death of Hon. CARL HINSHAW, a Representative from the State of California.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, in behalf of myself and my colleague, the junior Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], I submit a resolution relative to the death of the Honorable CARL HINSHAW, a Representative from the State of California. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 9) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. CARL HINSHAW, late a Representative from the State of California.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives, the Senate, at the conclusion of its business today, take a recess until 12 o'clock noon Wednesday next.

DEATH OF J. PERCY PRIEST, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF TENNESSEE

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The legislative clerk read the resolution (H. Res. 16), as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow the death of Hon. J. PERCY PRIEST, a Representative from the State of Tennessee.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague [Mr. GORE] and myself, I submit a resolution with respect to the untimely death of Representative J. PERCY PRIEST, late a Representative from the State of Tennessee, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 10) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. J. PERCY PRIEST, late a Representative from the State of Tennessee.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative, the Senate, at the conclusion of its business today, take a recess until 12 o'clock noon on Wednesday next.

DEATH OF HON. ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF NEW MEXICO

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The legislative clerk read the resolution (H. Res. 17), as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow the death of Hon. ANTONIO F. FERNANDEZ, a Representative from the State of New Mexico.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution with reference to the death of the Honorable ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ. I should like to

have the RECORD show that the resolution is submitted by the senior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], for himself and myself.

I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 11) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ, late a Representative from the State of New Mexico.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative, the Senate, at the conclusion of its business today, take a recess until 12 o'clock noon on Wednesday next.

COUNT OF ELECTORAL VOTES—JOINT SESSION OF THE TWO HOUSES—RECESS TO WEDNESDAY

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, in accordance with the order of January 5, I suggest that the Senate now proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Pursuant to Senate Concurrent Resolution 1, the Senate will now proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives for a joint session of the two Houses for the purpose of counting the electoral votes for President and Vice President.

Under the order of Saturday last, at the conclusion of the joint session the Senate will stand in recess until 12 o'clock meridian on Wednesday next.

Thereupon, at 12 o'clock and 48 minutes p. m., the Senate, preceded by the Secretary (Felton M. Johnston), the Sergeant at Arms (Joseph C. Duke), the Vice President, and the President pro tempore, proceeded to the Hall of the House of Representatives for the purpose of counting the electoral votes for President and Vice President of the United States.

(For the proceedings in the House of Representatives in connection with the counting of the electoral votes, see today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Pursuant to the order entered on Saturday, January 5, 1957, at the conclusion of the joint session the Senate stood in recess until Wednesday, January 9, 1957, at 12 o'clock meridian, the recess being taken, in accordance with resolutions adopted today as a further mark of respect to the memory of deceased Members of the House of Representatives.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, JANUARY 7, 1957

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., offering the following prayer:

Most merciful and gracious God, as we now unite our hearts in prayer, wilt Thou

answer our loftiest aspirations with Thy divine inspirations.

We rejoice that Thou art always drawing us to Thyself, seeking to give us Thy blessed companionship and to guide us by Thy unerring counsel.

Grant that daily we may be sensitive and responsive to the promptings and persuasions of Thy holy spirit and may there be in us a new nativity of the cardinal virtues of faith, hope, and love.

May our life be rich in the love that seeketh not its own and the courage that remains strong and steadfast in times of trial and tribulation.

Show us how we may be partners with Thee and with one another in the great redemptive ministry of leading bruised and brokenhearted humanity out of the darkness of hatred and fear into the glorious light of the kingdom of brotherhood and good will.

Hear us in Christ's name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday, January 5, 1957, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Carroll, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a concurrent resolution of the House of the following title:

H. Con. Res. 40. Concurrent resolution providing for a joint session of the Congress on Thursday, January 10, 1957, at 12:30 o'clock in the afternoon.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a joint resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. J. Res. 2. Joint resolution to extend the time for transmitting the economic report of the President for the first regular session of the 85th Congress.

The message also announced that in compliance with the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 1, 85th Congress, 1st session, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. JENNER], are appointed tellers on the part of the Senate to count the electoral votes for President and Vice President of the United States.

SWEARING IN OF MEMBERS

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands there are Members present who desire to take the oath of office. If they will present themselves, they will be sworn in.

Messrs. PASSMAN and UDALL appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

ELECTION OF REPUBLICAN MEMBERS TO STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 81) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the following-named Members be, and they are hereby, elected members

of the following standing committees of the House of Representatives:

Committee on Appropriations: John Taber, New York; Richard B. Wigglesworth, Massachusetts; Ben F. Jensen, Iowa; H. Carl Andersen, Minnesota; Walt Horan, Washington; Gordon Canfield, New Jersey; Ivor D. Fenton, Pennsylvania; Errett P. Scrivner, Kansas; Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., New York; Cliff Clevenger, Ohio; Earl Wilson, Indiana; Benjamin F. James, Pennsylvania; Gerald R. Ford, Jr., Michigan; Edward T. Miller, Maryland; Charles W. Vursell, Illinois; Harold C. Ostertag, New York; Frank T. Bow, Ohio.

Committee on Armed Services: Leslie C. Arends, Illinois; W. Sterling Cole, New York; Leon H. Gavin, Pennsylvania; Walter Norblad, Oregon; James E. Van Zandt, Pennsylvania; James T. Patterson, Connecticut; Paul Cunningham, Iowa; William H. Bates, Massachusetts; William E. Hess, Ohio; James P. S. Devereux, Maryland; Alvin E. O'Konski, Wisconsin; William G. Bray, Indiana; Robert C. Wilson, California; Frank C. Osmer, Jr., New Jersey.

Committee on Foreign Affairs: Robert B. Chipfield, Illinois; John M. Vorys, Ohio; Frances P. Bolton, Ohio; Lawrence H. Smith, Wisconsin; Chester E. Merrow, New Hampshire; Walter H. Judd, Minnesota; James G. Fulton, Pennsylvania; Donald L. Jackson, California; Karl M. LeCompte, Iowa; Edmund P. Radwan, New York; Albert P. Morano, Connecticut; Marguerite Stitt Church, Illinois; E. Ross Adair, Indiana; Winston L. Prouty, Vermont; Alvin M. Bentley, Michigan.

Committee on Rules: Leo E. Allen, Illinois; Clarence J. Brown, Ohio; Henry J. Latham, New York.

Committee on Ways and Means: Daniel A. Reed, New York; Thomas A. Jenkins, Ohio; Richard M. Simpson, Pennsylvania; Robert W. Kean, New Jersey; Noah M. Mason, Illinois; Hal Holmes, Washington; John W. Byrnes, Wisconsin; Antonio N. Sadlak, Connecticut; Howard H. Baker, Tennessee; Thomas B. Curtis, Missouri.

The resolution was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Thursday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

RECESS

The SPEAKER. The House will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 6 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired at 12 o'clock and 52 minutes p. m., the House was called to order by the Speaker.

COUNTING THE ELECTORAL VOTES—JOINT SESSION OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE HELD PURSUANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 1

At 12 o'clock and 53 minutes p. m., the Doorkeeper, Mr. William M. Miller, an-

nounced the Vice President and the Senate of the United States.

The Senate entered the Hall, headed by the Vice President and the Secretary of the Senate, the Members and officers of the House rising to receive them.

The Vice President took his seat as the presiding officer of the joint convention of the two Houses, the Speaker of the House occupying the chair on his left.

The joint session was called to order by the Vice President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives, pursuant to the requirements of the Constitution and laws of the United States, have met in joint session for the purpose of opening the certificates and ascertaining and counting the votes of the electors of the several States for President and Vice President. Under well-established precedent, unless a motion shall be made in any case, the reading of the formal portions of the certificates will be dispensed with. After ascertainment has been made that the certificates are authentic and correct in form, the tellers will count and make a list of the votes cast by the electors of the several States.

The tellers, Mr. GREEN and Mr. JENNER on the part of the Senate, and Mr. BURLISON and Mr. Lecompte on the part of the House, took their places at the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair hands to the tellers the certificates of the electors for President and Vice President of the State of Alabama, and they will count and make a list of the votes cast by that State.

Senator GREEN (one of the tellers). Mr. President, the certificate of the electoral vote of the State of Alabama seems to be regular in form and authentic, and it appears therefrom that Adlai E. Stevenson, of the State of Illinois, received 10 votes for President, and Walter B. Jones, of the State of Alabama, received 1 vote for President. Estes Kefauver, of the State of Tennessee, received 10 votes for Vice President, and Herman E. Talmadge, of the State of Georgia, received 1 vote for Vice President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no objection, the Chair will omit in further procedure the formal statement just made and will open in alphabetical order and pass to the tellers the certificates showing the votes of the electors of each State. The tellers will read, count, and announce the result in each State as was done in the State of Alabama.

Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The tellers then proceeded to read, count, and announce, as was done in the case of Alabama, the electoral votes of the several States in alphabetical order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Gentlemen of the Congress, the certificates of all of the States have now been opened and read, and the tellers will make final ascertainment of the result and deliver the same to the Vice President.

The tellers delivered to the Vice President the following statement of the results:

The undersigned, THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN and WILLIAM E. JENNER, tellers on the part of the Senate, and OMAR BURLISON and KARL M. Lecompte, tellers on the part of the House

of Representatives, report the following as the result of the ascertainment and count-

ing of the electoral vote for President and Vice President of the United States for the

term beginning on the 20th day of January 1957:

States	Electoral votes of each State	For President			For Vice President			States	Electoral votes of each State	For President			For Vice President		
		Dwight D. Eisenhower, of Pennsylvania	Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois	Walter B. Jones, of Alabama	Richard M. Nixon, of California	Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee	Herman Talmadge, of Georgia			Dwight D. Eisenhower, of Pennsylvania	Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois	Walter B. Jones, of Alabama	Richard M. Nixon, of California	Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee	Herman Talmadge, of Georgia
Alabama	11		10	1		10	1	Nevada	3	3			3		
Arizona	4	4			4			New Hampshire	4	4			4		
Arkansas	8		8			8		New Jersey	16	16			16		
California	32	32			32			New Mexico	4	4			4		
Colorado	6	6			6			New York	45	45			45		
Connecticut	8	8			8			North Carolina	14		14			14	
Delaware	3	3			3			North Dakota	4	4			4		
Florida	10	10			10			Ohio	25	25			25		
Georgia	12		12			12		Oklahoma	8	8			8		
Idaho	4				4			Oregon	6	6			6		
Illinois	27	27			27			Pennsylvania	32	32			32		
Indiana	13	13			13			Rhode Island	4	4			4		
Iowa	10	10			10			South Carolina	8		8			8	
Kansas	8	8			8			South Dakota	4	4			4		
Kentucky	10	10			10			Tennessee	11	11			11		
Louisiana	10	10			10			Texas	24	24			24		
Maine	5	5			5			Utah	4	4			4		
Maryland	9	9			9			Vermont	3	3			3		
Massachusetts	16	16			16			Virginia	12	12			12		
Michigan	20	20			20			Washington	9	9			9		
Minnesota	11	11			11			West Virginia	8	8			8		
Mississippi	8		8			8		Wisconsin	12	12			12		
Missouri	13		13			13		Wyoming	3	3			3		
Montana	4	4						Total	531	457	73	1	457	73	1
Nebraska	6	6				6									

THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN,
WILLIAM E. JENNER,
Tellers on the part of the Senate.
OMAR BURLESON,
KARL M. LECOMPTÉ,
Tellers on the part of
the House of Representatives.

The state of the vote for President of the United States, as delivered to the President of the Senate, is as follows:

The whole number of electors appointed to vote for President of the United States is 531, of which a majority is 266.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, of the State of Pennsylvania, has received for President of the United States 457 votes;

Adlai E. Stevenson, of the State of Illinois, has received 73 votes;

Walter B. Jones, of the State of Alabama, has received 1 vote.

The state of the vote for Vice President of the United States, as delivered to the President of the Senate, is as follows:

The whole number of the electors appointed to vote for Vice President of the United States is 531, of which a majority is 266.

Richard M. Nixon, of the State of California, has received for Vice President of the United States 457 votes;

Estes Kefauver, of the State of Tennessee, has received 73 votes;

Herman Talmadge, of the State of Georgia, has received 1 vote.

This announcement of the state of the vote by the President of the Senate shall be deemed a sufficient declaration of the persons elected President and Vice President of the United States, each for the term beginning on the 20th day of January 1957, and shall be entered, together with a list of the votes, on the Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, the purpose for which the joint session of the two Houses of Congress has been called pursuant to Senate Concurrent Resolution 1, having been accomplished, the Chair declares the joint session dissolved.

Thereupon (at 1 o'clock and 37 minutes p. m.) the joint session of the two Houses of Congress was dissolved.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to Senate Concurrent Resolution 1, the Chair di-

rects that the electoral vote be spread at large upon the Journal.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution for immediate consideration. The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 82

Resolved, That the following-named Members be, and they are hereby, elected members of the standing committee of the House of Representatives on Foreign Affairs: BARRATT O'HARA, Illinois; L. H. FOUNTAIN, North Carolina; DANTE B. FASCELL, Florida; FRANK M. COFFIN, Maine; LEONARD FARBSTEIN, New York.

The resolution was agreed to.

ADMINISTERING THE OATH OF OFFICE TO REPRESENTATIVE-ELECT JAMES B. BOWLER

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with your designation of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BOYLE] pursuant to House Resolution 10, 85th Congress, adopted by the House of Representatives, to administer the oath of office to Representative-elect JAMES B. BOWLER of the Seventh District of Illinois, I have the honor to report that on Friday, January 4, 1957, at Chicago, Ill., Mr. BOYLE administered the oath of office to Mr. BOWLER, form prescribed by section 1757 of the revised statutes of the United States, being the form of oath administered to Members of the House of Representatives, to which Mr. BOWLER subscribed.

Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 83

Whereas JAMES B. BOWLER, a Representative from the State of Illinois, from the Seventh District thereof, has been unable from sickness to appear in person to be sworn as a Member of this House, but has sworn to

and subscribed to the oath of office before the Honorable CHARLES A. BOYLE, authorized by resolution of this House to administer the oath, and the said oath of office has been presented in his behalf to the House, and there being no contest or question as to his election. Therefore be it

Resolved, That the said oath be accepted and received by the House as the oath of office of the said JAMES B. BOWLER as a Member of this House.

The resolution was agreed to.

FLOOD CONTROL PROGRAM FOR THE MERRIMACK RIVER

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I rise at this time to express my very deep appreciation for the fact that my colleague from Lawrence, a neighboring city to Lowell, on the Merrimack River spoke yesterday of the tremendous need we have up there for flood control. He referred to our great danger from floods in that area.

Mr. Speaker, I would request the help of all the Members to get the State of New Hampshire to agree to a compact which is necessary if we are to build a dam in New Hampshire. Massachusetts has agreed to and signed its part of the compact. New Hampshire must do its part. Otherwise the people in the Merrimack Valley of New Hampshire, as well as our people in the State of Massachusetts, will suffer horribly if there is another devastating flood, which is likely to occur at any time. There was very grave danger last spring when minute by minute the flooded river was watched. We in the Merrimack Valley are sitting on a volcano. The people in New Hampshire in the Merrimack Valley are of course in great danger also.

CATHOLICS HIT VISIT BY TITO

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, January 5, 1957, the Detroit Times carried an article entitled "Catholics Hit Visit by Tito," reprinted in part from the Michigan Catholic, one of the largest archdiocesan papers in the country. I would like to register, along with these distinguished papers, my strongest opposition to extending the hand of friendship to this ruthless dictator whose avowed purpose in life is advancement of atheistic international communism. Does the administration realize the deep psychological damage that could be done around the world by the reception at the White House of this enemy of freedom and human dignity? I hope a roar of protest from every corner of this land will make it abundantly clear to our officials that the American people do not want anything to do with the "Butcher of Belgrade."

CIVIL DEFENSE

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, during the year 1956 the Subcommittee on Military Operations of the House Committee on Government Operations, of which I am chairman, held extensive hearings on the subject of civil defense in our Nation. At the conclusion of those hearings we brought forth a report. During the interim we had the staff prepare a legislative draft of a bill which I have introduced today.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the draft of the bill be printed in the RECORD at this point and a brief analysis of the contents of the bill be printed thereafter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That this act may be cited as the "Civil Defense Reorganization Act."

Table of Contents

Sec. 2. Declaration of policy.

TITLE I—CREATION AND ORGANIZATION OF DEPARTMENT

- Sec. 101. Department of Civil Defense.
- Sec. 102. Secretary of Civil Defense.
- Sec. 103. Other principal officers of the Department.
- Sec. 104. Compensation of principal officers.
- Sec. 105. Delegation of authority.
- Sec. 106. Seal.
- Sec. 107. Provisions of law applicable to Department.
- Sec. 108. Military Liaison Committee.
- Sec. 109. Scientific Advisory Board.
- Sec. 110. Civil Defense Advisory Council.

TITLE II—DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE SECRETARY

- Sec. 201. National plan of civil defense.
 - Sec. 202. Execution of national plan.
- TITLE III—TRANSFERS OF FUNCTIONS
- Sec. 301. Transfer of Federal civil disaster functions.
 - Sec. 302. Transfer of Office of Defense Mobilization civil defense functions.
 - Sec. 303. Transfer of records, personnel, etc.
 - Sec. 304. References to transferred functions.
 - Sec. 305. Effect of existing official actions.
 - Sec. 306. Abolition of Federal Civil Defense Administration.

TITLE IV—GENERAL PROVISIONS

- Sec. 401. Employment of personnel.
- Sec. 402. Employment of temporary personnel.
- Sec. 403. Establishment of advisory boards.
- Sec. 404. Procurement of property.
- Sec. 405. Disposal of property.
- Sec. 406. Utilization of Federal agencies.
- Sec. 407. Utilization of other services.
- Sec. 408. Acceptance of supplies, etc.
- Sec. 409. Purchase of printing work.
- Sec. 410. Identity insignia.
- Sec. 411. Exemption from certain provisions.
- Sec. 412. Security regulations.
- Sec. 413. Appropriations and transfers of funds.
- Sec. 414. Annual report to the Congress.
- Sec. 415. Definitions.
- Sec. 416. Separability.

TITLE V—EMERGENCY AUTHORITY

- Sec. 501. Declaration of policy.
- Sec. 502. National civil defense emergency.
- Sec. 503. Emergency powers.
- Sec. 504. Additional emergency powers.
- Sec. 505. Reports on emergency actions.
- Sec. 506. Immunity from suit.
- Sec. 507. Waiver of Administrative Procedure Act.
- Sec. 508. Compensation for nongovernmental property acquired.

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby declares that civil defense is an integral part of national defense and a direct responsibility of the Federal Government in keeping with its constitutional duties to provide for the common defense and to protect the States against invasion. The purpose of this act is to reorganize and redefine the civil defense functions of the Federal Government to enable the Government to more effectively perform these functions and thereby to protect the people of the United States from attack and to help maintain the security and integrity of the Nation. In affirming the Federal responsibility for civil defense, the Congress recognizes that the States and their political subdivisions have an important supporting role and should be assisted and encouraged to perform appropriate civil defense tasks consistent with the national plan of civil defense provided for in this act. In declaring civil defense to be an integral part of the national defense, the Congress recognizes that civil defense is essentially a nonmilitary function because of its major dependence upon civilian agencies and resources and its intimate bearing upon the normal peacetime pursuits of Government, industry, community and civic bodies, and individual citizens.

TITLE I—CREATION AND ORGANIZATION OF DEPARTMENT

Department of Civil Defense

SEC. 101. There is hereby established an executive department of the Government, to be known as the Department of Civil Defense (hereinafter referred to as the "Department"), at the head of which shall be a Secretary of Civil Defense.

Secretary of Civil Defense

SEC. 102. (a) The Secretary of Civil Defense (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") shall be appointed by the President,

by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

(b) The Secretary shall be the principal assistant to the President in all matters relating to civil defense, and shall, under the direction of the President and subject to the provisions of this act, have direction, authority, and control over the Department.

(c) The Secretary shall serve as a member of the National Security Council.

Other principal officers of the Department

SEC. 103. (a) There shall be in the Department a Deputy Secretary of Civil Defense, an Administrative Assistant Secretary of Civil Defense, three Assistant Secretaries of Civil Defense, and a General Counsel, each of whom shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

(b) The Deputy Secretary shall perform such functions as the Secretary shall prescribe and shall act for, and exercise the powers of, the Secretary during his absence or disability or during a vacancy in the office of Secretary.

(c) The Administrative Assistant Secretary, the Assistant Secretaries, and the General Counsel shall perform such functions as the Secretary shall prescribe; and one of them (determined according to such order as the Secretary shall prescribe) shall act for, and exercise the powers of, the Secretary during the absence or disability of both the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary or during a vacancy in the offices of Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

Compensation of principal officers

SEC. 104. (a) The Secretary shall receive the compensation prescribed by law for heads of executive departments.

(b) The Deputy Secretary of Civil Defense shall receive compensation at the rate of \$22,500 per annum.

(c) The Administrative Assistant Secretary of Civil Defense, the Assistant Secretaries of Civil Defense, and the General Counsel shall each receive compensation at the rate of \$20,000 per annum.

Delegation of authority

SEC. 105. The Secretary may, without being relieved of general responsibility therefor, and unless prohibited by some specific provision of law, make such provision as he may deem appropriate authorizing the performance of any function vested in him (except the function of being a member of the National Security Council) by or through such officers, agencies divisions, or other organizational entities of the Department as he may designate.

Seal

SEC. 106. The Secretary shall cause a seal of office to be made for the Department, of such design as the President shall approve, and judicial notice shall be taken thereof.

Provisions of law applicable to department

SEC. 107. Except to the extent inconsistent with this act, all provisions of law applicable to the executive departments generally shall apply to the Department.

Military Liaison Committee

SEC. 108. There is hereby created a Military Liaison Committee (hereinafter called the "Committee") consisting of a Chairman, who shall be the head thereof, and of a representative or representatives of the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, detailed or assigned thereto, without additional compensation, in such numbers as the Secretary of Defense may determine. Representatives from each of the three departments shall be designated by the respective Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. The Chairman shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall receive compensation at the rate prescribed by law for Assistant Secretaries of the Department.

The Secretary shall advise and consult with the Committee on all Department of Defense matters which relate to civil defense, including scientific and technological developments in nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare, nuclear weapon effects, shelter and other protective measures planned or utilized by the Armed Forces to minimize such effects, passive defense plans or systems for military installations, radiological monitoring and bomb reconnaissance and disposal techniques, civil defense training and exercises of military personnel, availability of military personnel, facilities, supplies, and equipment for potential or actual use in civil defense, and such other matters as the Secretary or the Committee deems to be of interest and benefit to the Department. The Secretary and the Committee shall keep each other fully informed on all of the activities of their respective departments relating to civil defense matters. The Committee shall have authority to make written recommendations to the Secretary on matters relating to Department of Defense activities from time to time as it may deem appropriate.

Scientific Advisory Board

SEC. 109. There is hereby created a Scientific Advisory Board (hereinafter called the "Board") to advise the Secretary on scientific and technical matters related to civil defense. The Board shall make periodic evaluations of current civil defense research projects and programs and shall make recommendations for undertaking new projects and programs. The Board shall be composed of 12 members of outstanding scientific ability appointed from civilian life by the President. Each member shall hold office for a term of 6 years, except that (1) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term; and (2) the terms of the members first taking office after the date of enactment of this act shall expire, as designated by the President at the time of appointment, 4 at the end of 2 years, 4 at the end of 4 years, and 4 at the end of 6 years. The Board shall designate 1 of its members as Chairman. The Board shall meet at least twice in each year. Each member of the Board shall receive compensation of not to exceed \$50 per diem, plus transportation expenses and not to exceed \$20 per diem in lieu of subsistence, while engaged in the work of the Board.

Civil Defense Advisory Council

SEC. 110. There is hereby created a Civil Defense Advisory Council (hereinafter referred to as the "Council") which shall advise and consult with the Secretary on general policies which relate to civil defense, including civilian and industrial participation in civil-defense activities, State and local government relationships with Federal civil defense authorities, and educational and information programs for instructing the public in civil-defense activities. The Council shall consist of the Secretary, who shall be Chairman, and 15 additional members to be appointed by the President, with the following representation: 3 representing State government, 3 representing political subdivisions of the States, 3 representing industry, 3 representing labor, and 3 to be selected from among the citizens of the United States of broad and varied experience in matters affecting the public interest (other than employees of any department or agency of the United States who, as such, regularly receive compensation for current services). Each member shall hold office for a term of 4 years, except that (1) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term; and (2) the terms of office of the members first taking office after the date of enactment of this

act shall expire, as designated by the President at the time of appointment, 5 members (1 from each representative group) at the end of 2 years, 5 (1 from each representative group) at the end of 3 years, 5 members (1 from each representative group) at the end of 4 years, after the date of enactment of this act. The Council shall meet at least four times in each year and at such other times as the Secretary shall determine. Each member of the Council shall receive his transportation expenses and not to exceed \$20 per diem in lieu of subsistence while engaged in the work of the Council.

TITLE II—DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE SECRETARY

National plan of civil defense

SEC. 201. The Secretary shall, after consultation with the Secretary of Defense and with the appropriate State and local officials, prepare and execute a national plan of civil defense for the United States which, in the event of anticipated or actual enemy attack, will effectively provide for—

- (1) clear and prompt warning to the civilian population;
- (2) public information as to the immediate measures which must be taken to minimize the effects of enemy action;
- (3) shelter of the civilian population against the primary and secondary effects of nuclear explosions;
- (4) control of traffic, lighting, and civil communications;
- (5) enforcement of civil-defense regulations;
- (6) evacuation of persons from target areas when evacuation is feasible;
- (7) food and clothing and medical, health, sanitation, welfare, and other services for sheltered, displaced, and evacuated persons;
- (8) monitoring for radiological, biological, and chemical hazards;
- (9) decontamination of areas, facilities, and supplies subjected to such hazards;
- (10) unexploded bomb reconnaissance and disposition;
- (11) fire fighting, rescue, debris clearance, and other emergency services;
- (12) movement of essential personnel to places of employment;
- (13) repair or restoration of essential industrial, communications, transportation, utility, and other facilities; and
- (14) resumption and continuity of essential industrial production, economic activities, and governmental functions and services.

Execution of national plan

SEC. 202. In order to accomplish the foregoing and in furtherance of the national plan of civil defense, the Secretary shall, after consultation with the Secretary of Defense and the appropriate State and local officials—

- (1) define the potential target areas of the United States and determine their relative importance, taking into account population density, production role, and other factors;
- (2) institute systematic measures to reduce the vulnerability of such target areas to enemy attack;
- (3) construct group shelters in each target area and make appropriate arrangements for their maintenance in a condition of readiness, including their use for commercial or civic purposes consistent with civil defense requirements;
- (4) establish and maintain warning and communications systems or devices and control centers;
- (5) procure, stockpile, and store in strategic locations necessary medical supplies and equipment, foodstuffs, industrial, transportation, communications, utility and other materials, supplies, and equipment;
- (6) establish and operate technical schools and training centers and provide expert instruction and training in civil defense or-

ganization, operations, and techniques to Federal, State, and local civil defense personnel;

(7) provide timely, periodic, and authoritative information to State and local civil defense officials and to the public concerning civil defense measures and requirements;

(8) establish civil defense research laboratories and conduct research directly or by contract for civil defense purposes;

(9) provide advisory services to industry concerning plant location and protection, participation in civil defense training and exercises, and other civil defense activities;

(10) continuously review Federal programs for their civil defense aspects, and make recommendations to the President and the Congress concerning administrative or legislative changes to conform such programs to civil defense requirements;

(11) direct, with the approval of the President, other Federal departments and agencies to undertake specific civil defense projects or programs, and evaluate performance in such undertakings;

(12) establish such regional, area, or local offices and civil defense organizational arrangements as will facilitate the execution of the Secretary's duties and functions;

(13) integrate civil defense measures with those for the protection of military, atomic, and other defense installations;

(14) assist State and local civil defense organizations by contributing funds for personnel and administrative expenses and for purchase of equipment, supplies, training devices, and other civil defense requirements, under such terms and conditions as the Secretary shall prescribe;

(15) insure that State and local civil defense organizations receiving Federal financial or other contributions will comply with the terms and conditions prescribed by the Secretary, including the conditions that the contributions shall be used for civil defense purposes and in conformity with the national plan for civil defense; and

(16) conduct civil defense training exercises and make such other preattack preparations as in the judgment of the Secretary will improve the civil defense of the United States.

TITLE III—TRANSFERS OF FUNCTIONS

Transfer of Federal civil disaster functions

SEC. 301. There are hereby transferred to the Secretary all of the functions vested in the Federal Civil Defense Administrator and the Federal Civil Defense Administration under the act entitled "An act to authorize Federal assistance to States and local governments in major disasters, and for other purposes," approved September 30, 1950, as provided for in Executive Order Numbered 10427 (dated January 16, 1953).

Transfer of office of defense mobilization civil defense functions

SEC. 302. There are hereby transferred to the Secretary all of the functions vested by any statute, reorganization plan, or Executive order in the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, or in the Office of Defense Mobilization, which pertain to the duties and functions of the Secretary as prescribed in title II of this act. To give effect to this section, the President shall determine which of the functions of the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization or of the Office of Defense Mobilization shall be performed by the Secretary in accordance with this act and shall make appropriate provision for their transfer within a period of 90 days following the date of enactment of this act.

Transfer of records, personnel, etc.

SEC. 303. (a) There are hereby transferred to the Secretary all personnel, property, records, obligations, and commitments of the Federal Civil Defense Administration (including those originally transferred to such Administration by section 404 of the Federal

Civil Defense Act of 1950), and all unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds available (or to be made available) to such Administration.

(b) There are hereby transferred to the Secretary so much of the personnel, property, records, obligations, and commitments of the Office of Defense Mobilization, and so much of any unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, or other funds available (or to be made available) to such Office, as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine to be attributable to or required for the performance of the functions transferred under section 302. Funds transferred under this subsection may be merged or consolidated with funds transferred under subsection (a) which are available for the same purpose.

References to transferred functions

SEC. 304. Any reference to the Federal Civil Defense Administration or the Federal Civil Defense Administrator, or to the Office of Defense Mobilization or the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, in any other law, delegation, rule, regulation, certificate, directive, instruction, or other official action in force on the effective date of this act, where applicable to functions transferred under this act, shall be deemed to refer and apply to the Department or the Secretary, respectively.

Effect of existing official actions

SEC. 305. (a) Notwithstanding the preceding sections of this title, all delegations of authority by the Federal Civil Defense Administrator, and all defense mobilization orders of the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization relating to functions transferred under section 302, as well as all other orders, regulations, certificates, directives, issuances, and other official actions relating to functions transferred under this act which are in force on the date of such transfer, shall continue in full force and effect until modified, amended, superseded, or revoked by the Secretary.

(b) Notwithstanding the preceding sections of this title, all boards, councils, committees, and similar organizations and groups established by the Federal Civil Defense Administration or the Office of Defense Mobilization pursuant to law which relate directly to any of the functions transferred to the Secretary under this act may be abolished or continued by action of the Secretary.

(c) Arrangements for representation of the Federal Civil Defense Administration or the Office of Defense Mobilization on inter-agency committees, panels, or working groups which on the date of enactment of this act are performing duties relating to functions transferred under this act shall continue in effect until modified, amended, superseded, or revoked by the Secretary.

Abolition of Federal Civil Defense Administration

SEC. 306. The Federal Civil Defense Administration, and the Offices of Federal Civil Defense Administrator and Deputy Administrator, are abolished; and the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950 is repealed.

TITLE IV—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Employment of personnel

SEC. 401. In the performance of his duties and functions, the Secretary is authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such officers and employees as may be necessary to carry out the functions of the Department. Such officers and employees shall be appointed in accordance with the civil-service laws and the compensation fixed in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, except that to the extent that the Secretary deems such action necessary to the discharge of his duties and functions, scientific or technical personnel possessing special qualifications or required for excep-

tional duties may be employed, and their compensation fixed, without regard to such laws.

Employment of temporary personnel

SEC. 402. The Secretary is authorized to employ such part-time or temporary advisory personnel as he deems necessary in carrying out his duties and functions. Such personnel, while so employed, may serve without compensation or may receive compensation of not to exceed \$50 per diem (as determined by the Secretary) and shall receive their transportation expenses and not to exceed \$20 per diem in lieu of subsistence.

Establishment of advisory boards

SEC. 403. The Secretary is authorized to establish such advisory boards, in addition to those provided for in this act, as he deems necessary in carrying out his duties and functions. Persons holding other offices or positions of the United States for which they receive compensation, while serving as members of such advisory boards, shall receive no additional compensation for such service. Other members of advisory boards, while serving as such, may serve without compensation or may receive compensation of not to exceed \$50 per diem (as determined by the Secretary) and shall receive their necessary transportation expenses and not to exceed \$20 in lieu of subsistence.

Procurement of property

SEC. 404. The Secretary may procure by condemnation or otherwise, construct, or lease (with the right to take immediate possession thereof), and transport, maintain, store, renovate, distribute, or redistribute, any materials, equipment, facilities, or other real or personal property for civil defense purposes: *Provided*, That property acquired by purchase, donation, or other means of transfer may be occupied, used, and improved for the purposes of this act, prior to the approval of title by the Attorney General as required by section 355 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (40 U. S. C., sec. 255): *Provided further*, That proceedings for condemnation under this section shall be instituted and conducted in accordance with and subject to the provisions of law and the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure which are generally applicable to the acquisition of real property, through condemnation proceedings, by officers of the Federal Government: *Provided further*, That real property actions by or for the use of the Department shall be subject to the provisions of sections 601 through 604 of the act of September 28, 1951 (40 U. S. C., secs. 551-554): *Provided further*, That the provisions of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, where applicable and not otherwise inconsistent with the provisions of this act, shall govern the procurement of property under this act.

Disposal of property

SEC. 405. Except as otherwise prescribed in this act, the Secretary is authorized to arrange for the sale or disposal of materials, equipment, and facilities found by the Secretary to be unnecessary or unsuitable for civil-defense purposes in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended.

Utilization of Federal agencies

SEC. 406. The Secretary is authorized to utilize the personnel, services, materials, and facilities of Federal departments and agencies and to reimburse any Federal department or agency for any of its expenditures or for compensation of its personnel and utilization or consumption of its services, materials, and facilities under this act to the extent funds are available.

Utilization of other services

SEC. 407. The Secretary is authorized to accept and utilize the services of State and

local civil agencies; utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services by individuals or organizations as might from time to time be needed; and authorize the States to establish and organize such individuals and organizations into units to be known collectively as the United States Civil Defense Corps: *Provided*, That the members of such corps shall not be deemed by reason of such membership to be appointees or employees of the United States.

Acceptance of supplies, etc.

SEC. 408. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary is authorized to accept gifts of supplies, equipment, and facilities; and utilize and distribute the same for civil-defense purposes in accordance with the provisions of this act.

Purchase of printing work

SEC. 409. The Secretary is authorized to purchase such printing, binding, and blank-book work from public, commercial, or private printing establishments or binderies as the Secretary may deem necessary upon orders placed by the Public Printer or upon waivers issued in accordance with section 12 of the act of January 12, 1895, as amended (44 U. S. C., sec. 14).

Identity insignia

SEC. 410. The Secretary is authorized to purchase insignia, armbands, and other distinctive articles (including designs previously covered under letters patent which were assigned to the United States and held by the Office of Civilian Defense created by Executive Order No. 8757, issued May 20, 1941) which may be manufactured for or possessed or worn by persons engaged in civil defense activities pursuant to rules and regulations for the manufacture, possession, or wearing thereof established by the Secretary. The manufacture, possession, or wearing of any such insignia, armband, or other distinctive article otherwise than in accordance with such rules and regulations shall be unlawful, and shall subject such persons to a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment of not more than 1 year, or both.

Exemption from certain provisions

SEC. 411. The authority granted in section 402 shall be exercised in accordance with regulations of the President who may also provide by regulation for the exemption of persons who are employed or whose services are utilized under the authority of such sections from the operation of sections 281, 283, 434, and 1914 of title 18 of the United States Code and section 190 of the Revised Statutes (5 U. S. C., sec. 99).

Security regulations

SEC. 412. (a) The Secretary shall establish such security requirements and safeguards, including restrictions with respect to access to information and property as he deems necessary. No employee of the Department shall be permitted to have access to information or property with respect to which access restrictions have been established under this section, until it shall have been determined that no information is contained in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation or any other investigative agency of the Government indicating that such employee is of questionable loyalty or reliability for security purposes, or, if any such information is so disclosed, until the Federal Bureau of Investigation shall have conducted a full field investigation concerning such person and a report thereon shall have been evaluated in writing by the Secretary. No employee of the Department shall occupy any position determined by the Secretary to be of critical importance from the standpoint of national security until a full field investigation concerning such employee shall have been conducted by the Civil Service Commission and a report thereon shall have been evaluated in writing by the Secretary. In the event such

full field investigation by the Civil Service Commission develops any data reflecting that such applicant for a position of critical importance is of questionable loyalty or reliability for security purposes, or if the Secretary for any other reason shall deem it to be advisable, such investigation shall be discontinued and a report thereon shall be referred to the Secretary for his evaluation in writing. Thereafter the Secretary may refer the matter to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the conduct of a full field investigation by such Bureau. The result of such latter investigation by such Bureau shall be furnished to the Secretary for his action.

(b) Each Federal employee of the Department shall execute the loyalty oath and appointment affidavits prescribed by the Civil Service Commission. Each person other than a Federal employee who is appointed to serve in a State or local organization for civil defense shall, before entering upon his duties, take an oath in writing before a person authorized to administer oaths, which oath shall be substantially as follows:

"I, ———, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties upon which I am about to enter.

"And I do further swear (or affirm) that I do not advocate, nor am I a member or an affiliate of any organization, group, or combination of persons that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence; and that during such time as I am a member of the ——— (name of civil defense organization), I will not advocate nor become a member or an affiliate of any organization, group, or combination of persons that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence."

After appointment and qualification for office, the director of civil defense of any State, and any subordinate civil defense officer within such State designated by the director in writing, shall be qualified to administer such oath within such State under such regulations as the director shall prescribe. Any person who shall be found guilty of having falsely taken such oath shall be punished as provided in section 1621 of title 18 of the United States Code.

Appropriations and transfers of funds

Sec. 413. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act. Funds made available for the purposes of this act may be allocated or transferred for any of the purposes of this act, with the approval of the Bureau of the Budget, to any Federal department, agency, or Government corporation; but each such allocation or transfer shall be reported in full detail to the Congress within 30 days after such allocation or transfer.

Annual report to the Congress

Sec. 414. In addition to any other reports prescribed in this act, the Secretary shall annually submit a written report to the President and the Congress covering expenditures, contributions, work, and accomplishments of the Department pursuant to this act, accompanied by such recommendations as he shall deem appropriate.

Definitions

Sec. 415. As used in this act, the terms "United States," "State," and "States" include the several States, the Territories and possessions of the United States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia.

Separability

Sec. 416. If any provision of this act or the application of such provision to any person or circumstances shall be held invalid, the remainder of the act, and the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those to which it is held invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

TITLE V—EMERGENCY AUTHORITY

Declaration of policy

Sec. 501. In enacting this title it is the policy and intent of Congress to preserve the supremacy of civilian rule under emergency conditions to the greatest possible extent. While recognizing that in the event of enemy attack military rule may be necessary in certain areas and under exceptional circumstances, the Congress intends that such rule shall be strictly limited in time and place and instituted only to serve urgent and immediate military requirements. The Congress further intends that military resources and personnel, when available for civil defense operations, shall be utilized under the general supervision and direction of the Secretary, and that the Secretary should, it become necessary to exercise his authority under this title, shall receive the wholehearted cooperation and fullest assistance of the Department of Defense and military authorities consistent with their defense missions, in a common endeavor to protect and defend the people and preserve the integrity of the United States.

National civil defense emergency

Sec. 502. The provisions of this title shall be operative only during the existence of a state of civil defense emergency (hereinafter referred to in this title as an "emergency"). The existence of an emergency within the United States or any part thereof may be proclaimed by the President or by concurrent resolution of the Congress if the President in such proclamation, or the Congress in such resolution, finds that an attack upon the United States has occurred or is anticipated and the national safety therefore requires an invocation of the provisions of this title. Any emergency shall terminate upon the proclamation of the termination thereof by the President, or the passage by the Congress of a concurrent resolution terminating such emergency.

Emergency powers

Sec. 503. During the period of an emergency the Secretary is authorized to carry out all the civil-defense operations required by the national plan of civil defense provided in title II of this act and to exercise all the duties and functions prescribed in this act: *Provided*, That the Secretary may exercise the authority contained in title IV on such terms and conditions as the President shall determine (subject to the provisions of this title) and without regard to the limitations of existing law: *Provided further*, That any funds received from the sale or other disposition, during the period of an emergency, of materials or for services shall be deposited to the credit of appropriations currently available and made pursuant to this act and shall be available for expenditure for the purposes of such appropriations.

Additional emergency powers

Sec. 504. During the period of an emergency the Secretary is further authorized to—

- (1) requisition materials, supplies, equipment, and other personal and real property, whether privately or publicly owned, necessary for civil-defense purposes;
- (2) coordinate and direct for civil-defense purposes the activities of the various Federal departments and agencies of the United States and utilize such of their personnel, services, materials, supplies, equipment, and other personal and real property as the President shall determine are not required for

military purposes, under such conditions as to donation, compensation, or return as the President may prescribe;

(3) incur such obligations on behalf of the United States as may be required to meet the civil-defense requirements of an actual or anticipated attack;

(4) direct and supervise civil-defense operations of the States and the political subdivisions;

(5) assume control and operation of any State or local government when requested by its duly elected or appointed chief executive;

(6) reimburse any State, including any political subdivisions thereof, for the compensation paid to and the transportation, subsistence, and maintenance expenses of any employees while engaged in rendering civil-defense aid outside the State and to pay fair and reasonable compensation for the materials of the State government or any political subdivision utilized or consumed outside of the State, including any transportation costs, in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary. As used in this paragraph, the term "employees" shall include full- or part-time paid, volunteer, auxiliary, and civil-defense workers subject to the order or control of a State government or any political subdivision thereof, and such employees shall not be deemed by reason of such reimbursement to be employees or appointees of the United States; and

(7) provide financial assistance for the temporary relief or aid of any civilian injured or in want as the result of any attack.

Reports on emergency actions

Sec. 505. During the period of an emergency, the Secretary shall keep the President fully informed and shall submit quarterly to the Congress a detailed report concerning all action taken pursuant to this title.

Immunity from suit

Sec. 506. The Federal Government shall not be liable for any damage to property or for any death or personal injury occurring directly or indirectly as a result of the exercise or performance of, or failure to exercise or perform, any function or duty, by any Federal agency or employee of the Government, in carrying out the provisions of this title during the period of an emergency. Nothing contained in this section shall affect the right of any person to receive any benefit or compensation to which he might otherwise be entitled under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act (5 U. S. C., sec. 751 and the following), or any other Act of Congress providing for any pension or retirement benefits.

Waiver of Administrative Procedure Act

Sec. 507. During the period of an emergency, the functions and duties exercised under this act shall not be subject to the operation of the Administrative Procedure Act (5 U. S. C., sec. 1001 and the following), except as to the requirements of section 3 thereof.

Compensation for nongovernmental property acquired

Sec. 508. (a) Except in the case of property acquired pursuant to section 404 of this act in conformity with the provisions of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, or through judicial proceedings for condemnation, the Secretary shall promptly determine the amount of the compensation to be paid for any property (other than that of the Federal Government or any department or agency thereof, or that of any State or political subdivision thereof) or the use thereof acquired pursuant to this act, but each such determination shall be made as of the time it is acquired in accordance with the provisions for just compensation in the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. If the person entitled to receive the amount

so determined by the Secretary as just compensation is unwilling to accept such amount as full and complete compensation for such property or the use thereof, he shall be paid promptly 75 percent of such amount and shall be entitled to recover from the United States, in an action brought in the Court of Claims, or, without regard to whether the amount involved exceeds \$10,000, in any district court of the United States, within 3 years after the date of the Secretary's award, such additional amount, if any, as, when added to the amount so paid to him, shall be just compensation.

(b) Whenever the Secretary determines that any real property acquired by him under this title is no longer needed for the purposes of this act, he shall, if the person from whom the property was acquired desires the return of the property and pays to the Secretary the then fair value thereof, return such property to such owner. In the event the Secretary and the original owner do not agree as to the fair value of such property, the fair value shall be determined by three appraisers, one of whom shall be chosen by the Secretary, one by the person from whom the property was acquired, and the third by the first two appraisers; and the expenses of such determination shall be paid in equal shares by the Government and the person from whom the property was acquired.

(c) Whenever the need for the purposes of this act of any personal property acquired by him under this title shall terminate, the Secretary may dispose of such property on such terms and conditions as he shall deem appropriate, but to the extent feasible and practicable he shall give to the person from whom the property was acquired an opportunity to reacquire it (1) at its then fair value as determined by the Secretary, or (2) if it is to be disposed of (otherwise than at a public sale of which he shall give reasonable notice) at less than such value, at the highest price any other person is willing to pay therefor; but such opportunity to reacquire need not be given in the case of fungibles or items having a fair value of less than \$1,000.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF NEW CIVIL DEFENSE BILL DECLARATION OF POLICY

Congressional policy is restated to affirm that civil defense is squarely a Federal responsibility and a vital part of the national defense. At the same time the important supporting role of the States and local units of government is recognized, as well as the essentially nonmilitary nature of civil defense.

A NEW DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL DEFENSE

Title I of the bill would establish a new executive department of the Government, to be known as the Department of Civil Defense, headed by a Secretary, in place of the existing Federal Civil Defense Administration. Elevation of FCDA to regular departmental status was recommended in the subcommittee report and is endorsed by various groups, including the American Legion.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF DEPARTMENT

Besides the Secretary of Civil Defense, the bill provides for a Deputy Secretary, an Administrative Assistant Secretary, three Assistant Secretaries and a General Counsel, each to be appointed by the President with Senate approval, at rates of compensation comparable to those for such officers in the Department of Defense.

MILITARY LIAISON COMMITTEE

To provide a two-way channel of communications and cooperative working relationships with the military, the bill provides in title I for a Military Liaison Committee representing the three military departments and a chairman appointed by the President with Senate approval. The setup of the committee is patterned on the one

provided by law for the Atomic Energy Commission. The Military Liaison Committee and the Secretary of Civil Defense would be obligated to advise and consult on civil defense matters of mutual interest, several of which are set forth specifically in the bill.

SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY BOARD

The bill also provides in title I for a Scientific Advisory Board of 12 members of outstanding scientific ability, selected by the President and serving for 6-year staggered terms. As with the Military Liaison Committee, this board is patterned on the one provided by law for the Atomic Energy Commission. The new statutory board would replace the loose contractual arrangement which FCDA now has with the National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, and would bring much-needed scientific talent to civil defense.

CIVIL DEFENSE ADVISORY COUNCIL

The bill finally provides in title I for a Civil Defense Advisory Council of 15 members serving for staggered 4-year terms, appointed by the President, with the Secretary of Civil Defense acting as Chairman. An advisory group is provided for in existing civil-defense legislation, but has been little used. The new council would give statutory representation not only to State and local government but to industry, labor, and the public. Broad representation of this kind would serve to link Federal civil-defense activities with normal peacetime pursuits.

SUMMARY OF TITLE I

The first title is thus an organizational measure, transforming FCDA into a regular department of Government, establishing a Military Liaison Committee as a bridge to the military, a Scientific Advisory Board as a bridge to science, and a Civil Defense Advisory Council, as a bridge to local, industrial, and civic interests.

NATIONAL PLAN OF CIVIL DEFENSE

Title II would require the Secretary, after consultation with the Secretary of Defense and with the appropriate State and local officials, to prepare and execute a national plan of civil defense for the United States. This follows a major recommendation in the subcommittee report for a master plan of civil defense based on the testimony of many informed witnesses.

Fourteen broad objectives of the national plan are set forth in the bill to forestall or minimize the effects of an enemy attack. These include such things as attack warning, information to the public, shelter, control of traffic, radiological monitoring, rescue and welfare services, and restoration of essential industry. Note that the objectives are not narrowly conceived as temporary rescue services, but extend to placing the national economy back on its feet after an enemy attack. Thus, the Secretary of Civil Defense would be responsible for postattack operations now illogically divided between FCDA and ODM.

Note also that the objectives are derived from the broad definition of civil defense contained in the 1950 legislation. In effect, the components of that definition have been translated into substantive law, so that they become an operating rather than a semantic definition of civil defense.

EXECUTION OF NATIONAL PLAN

Having set forth the broad objectives of a national plan of civil defense, title II then specifies some 16 civil-defense functions in execution of the national plan which are mandatory upon the Secretary of Civil Defense, after consultation with the Secretary of Defense and the appropriate State and local officials. These functions include defining target areas, systematic action to reduce target vulnerability, group-shelter construction in each target area, establishment of warning and communications systems,

stockpiling necessary equipment, training and research, continuous review of Federal programs for civil-defense aspects, integration of civil and military plans for passive defense, assistance to State and local civil-defense organizations through contributions, and civil-defense training exercises and other preattack preparations.

The provisions for assisting State and local civil-defense organizations do not specify any matching requirements or ratio of Federal to State-local contributions, but leave such determinations to the Secretary of Civil Defense, with the conditions that Federal contributions be used for civil-defense purposes and in conformity with the national plan for civil defense. Also, the shelter program is made a Federal activity, authorizing the Secretary to make such arrangements for commercial or civic use of group shelters as he considers appropriate.

SUMMARY OF TITLE II

This title seeks to redefine Federal civil-defense functions making mandatory a national plan of civil defense and making the Secretary of Civil Defense responsible for the preparation and execution of such a plan. This contrasts with the 1950 legislation, which not only relieves the Federal Government of major responsibility for civil defense but which also leaves the FCDA Administrator's responsibilities in a rather indeterminate status.

TRANSFER OF DISASTER FUNCTIONS

Having established the new organizational base of civil defense (title I) and having restated its basic functions (title II) the bill proceeds in title III to make certain transfers of existing functions associated with civil defense. Thus, the new Department would acquire the civil-disaster functions now vested in the President and delegated to FCDA by Executive order. Since this bill would supersede the 1950 civil-defense legislation, the transfer of civil-disaster functions is made necessary to keep them in being under civil-defense direction.

TRANSFER OF ODM CIVIL-DEFENSE FUNCTIONS

The other reorganization step in title III, following a recommendation in the subcommittee report, is to eliminate overlapping or divided authority between FCDA and ODM in the civil-defense field. Those functions of ODM which the President determines to be of a civil-defense nature and more appropriately exercised by the Secretary of Civil Defense would be shifted over to the new department. The bill does not attempt to specify what functions should be extracted from ODM since they are somewhat vague and their present exercise is without benefit of a clear legislative mandate. ODM is largely an executive creation, having been first created by Executive order and having been formalized by Presidential reorganization plan. Consequently it is considered appropriate for the President to make further necessary reorganizations in this field for a 90-day period, under authority in title III of the bill.

Note that the merger of civil-defense functions would not mean a complete elimination of ODM. Insofar as it is an advisory organ to the President in the mobilization field or administers certain statutory functions, the ODM still carries on, but the Secretary of Civil Defense rather than the ODM Director would be responsible for such civil defense matters as location of Government buildings, post-attack restoration of essential industry, and the like.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Title IV provides for various necessary activities of the new department such as the employment of personnel, property procurement and disposal, and the like. Mainly these provisions are those in the 1950 legislation. No change is made, for example, in the personnel security procedures.

EMERGENCY AUTHORITY

Title V deals with the emergency situations created by expected or actual enemy attack. The 1950 legislation had a similar title but the bill makes several important changes. First of all, this title carries a declaration of congressional policy, making it clear that the Congress intends to retain strong civilian direction of civil defense in any emergency. The possibility of martial law is recognized but its use is to be limited in time and place and to be resorted to only for urgent and immediate military requirements. The military role is conceived to be one of full cooperation and assistance to civil authorities consistent with military missions.

During an emergency, which may be declared by the President or the Congress, the Secretary is authorized to carry out the civil-defense operations required by the national plan of civil defense, but is relieved from certain legal restrictions on procurement, employment of personnel, and the like. Also the Secretary would be authorized to requisition supplies, to coordinate and direct civil-defense operations of the Federal Government, to direct and supervise State and local civil-defense operations, and if necessary to assume control and operation of any State or local government. The duly elected or appointed chief executive of the State or local government would decide when a breakdown of civil government under his jurisdiction required the Federal authority to take over.

The purpose of such emergency authority is to create a civilian government substitute for military rule and martial law. Such an arrangement is patterned on the Presidential proclamations for exercise of Federal authority issued during Operation Alert 1956.

A PROPOSAL TO CREATE A NEW DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL DEFENSE

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, events of the past months in Europe and the Middle East and the President's message to Congress January 5 have brought into sharp focus that often it is only a very small factor that determines whether there shall be war or peace. The turmoil in the Middle East, the uprisings in Hungary, and now our President's important declaration of policy to the Congress certainly has shaken the American people from any drift of complacency that may have existed concerning the questions of defense, of our Nation and of the free world.

No longer do we have the arguments raging over whether we shall or shall not have a peacetime military force. Indeed, that is almost ancient history. Our debates today concern whether what we have is enough to deter any aggressor from making the fatal mistake of engaging in war with this Nation. Only few would deny that one of the free world's most effective means of keeping peace is through an armed might capable of destroying any nation that would gamble on war as a method of solving international difficulties.

Today's peace hinges greatly on one main point, our country's strength, a factor that carries tremendous weight in the minds of those who would conquer

the world if they thought the opportunity ripe for such an onslaught.

A part of that strength lies in an effective military force, which we are fortunate to possess. The other part of that strength is our civil-defense organization. These two great units, a strong military force and a highly coordinated, strengthened civil-defense program form a powerful deterrent to the ambitions of any aggressor as well as providing maximum security for this Nation. Our President has outlined one phase of our program devoted to keeping the peace—a program concerning areas of the free world presently endangered. Civil defense plays an equally important role in our Nation's security and must be coordinated to the extent that both our military-defense and civil-defense organizations know constantly what the other is doing and is capable of doing.

Today, I offer a bill which provides for a revision of our present civil defense program that would give this Nation a highly-effective organization closely coordinated with our present Armed Forces' Establishment and our State and local government units upon which we are dependent.

The purpose of this bill is not to create another Federal agency, but to create an organization which can adapt the new concepts of the military into a coordinated program of readiness and action, capable of meeting any future involvement that may be thrust upon us. Through such preparation and capability I am certain we would be making an investment in a security that would be the strongest guaranty we could have for preserving the peace.

Certainly we have dedicated men and women who are working diligently for maintenance of a successful civil defense program. These people are to be commended for their untiring efforts. But they have been handicapped immeasurably because the present program is not designed to meet the present day needs and will not meet these needs if continued in the same form.

Civil defense has been thought of in the past as a program which would be made effective should troops invade our shores and enemy planes bomb our cities and industries. But civil defense is more than that, it is a program designed to show that this country is prepared, from the Pentagon to the main street, for any eventuality. Our armed might certainly stands as formidable power to an aggressor. And our civil defense can also stand as a great moral and physical strength—it can show the enemy that we are not weak in any respect, but that our strength and resistance is everywhere in this Nation.

Civil defense also is the key to our own preservation should we suffer enemy attack. With an energetic, efficient and far-reaching civil defense program our Nation will be equipped to survive the devastation of war, and better than ever before, with losses minimized and production continued.

Without a survival program, which actually is what civil defense is, this Nation, within a very short time, could be brought to its knees. Our industries could be halted permanently, our people

could be terrorized into panic, and without either industry or the men and women to operate these plants, our effectiveness would be reduced immeasurably.

We have entered into a new era—the atomic age, in which weapons so powerful can wipe out entire areas. It is time for our civil-defense program to enter this age also, to become an integral part of our national defense planning, so as to provide our country with a program of survival designed to meet any eventuality.

The bill which I introduce, and which is the product of many months of study and hearings, calls for a reorganization of the civil defense functions of the Federal Government and will establish a Federal Department of Civil Defense. Under this bill civil defense will become an executive department of the Government, with a Secretary of Cabinet status who would become a member of the National Security Council.

The intent of this bill should in no way be construed as removing from the States and local governments the authority and responsibility which they must continue to undertake for the well-being and security of our people.

Important to the organization of civil defense, as provided in this bill, are three groups appointed to participate in the functions of the department. The groups are: military liaison committee, scientific advisory board and civil defense advisory council.

Representatives from the Army, Navy and Air Force would serve on the military liaison committee. The chairman would be appointed by the President. This committee is to advise and consult with the Secretary of Civil Defense in all Department of Defense matters relating to civil defense.

The Scientific Advisory Board is to be composed of 12 members of outstanding scientific ability and would be appointed by the President. The Board, which would elect its own Chairman, is to advise the Secretary on scientific and technical matters and shall make periodic evaluations and recommendations of current civil-defense projects and programs.

The third group, a Civil Defense Advisory Council to confer on general policies, will consist of 15 members appointed by the President, and the Secretary who shall be Chairman. Representatives would include 3 from State government, 3 representing political subdivisions of the States, 3 from industry, 3 representing labor, and 3 to be selected from among citizens of broad and varied experience in matters affecting the public interest.

The bill provides that the Secretary, after consultation with the Secretary of Defense and other officials, shall prepare and execute a national plan of civil defense in event of anticipated or actual enemy attack.

The 14-point plan includes provisions for: First, clear and prompt warning to the civilian population; second, public information as to immediate measures which must be taken to minimize the effects of enemy action; third, shelter of civilian population against primary and

secondary effects of nuclear explosions; fourth, control of traffic, lighting, and civil communications; fifth, enforcement of civil-defense regulations; sixth, evacuation of persons from target areas when evacuation is feasible; seventh, food, clothing, medical, health, sanitation, welfare, and other services for sheltered, displaced, and evacuated persons; eighth, monitoring for radiological, biological, and chemical hazards; ninth, decontamination of areas, facilities, and supplies subjected to such hazards; tenth, unexploded bomb reconnaissance and disposition; eleventh, fire fighting, rescue, debris clearance, and other emergency services; twelfth, movement of essential personnel to places of employment; thirteenth, repair or restoration of essential industry, communications, transportation, utility, and other facilities; and fourteenth, resumption and continuity of essential industrial production, economic activities, and governmental functions and services.

A 16-point program is outlined for execution of the Nation plan which includes: First, define potential target areas and determine their relative importance; second, institute systematic measures to reduce vulnerability of such target areas to enemy attack; third, construct group shelters in each target area and make arrangements for their maintenance; fourth, establish and maintain warning and communications systems or devices and control centers; fifth, procure, stockpile, and store in strategic locations necessary medical supplies and equipment, foodstuffs, industrial, transportation, communications, utility, and other materials, supplies, and equipment; sixth, establish and operate technical schools and training centers and provide expert instruction and training in civil defense; seventh, provide timely, periodic, and authoritative information to State and local civil-defense officials and to the public concerning civil-defense measures and requirements; eighth, establish civil defense research laboratories and conduct research directly or by contract; ninth, provide advisory services to industry concerning plant location and protection, participation in civil-defense training and exercises and other civil-defense activities; tenth, continuously review Federal programs for their civil-defense aspects and make recommendations to the President and Congress concerning administrative or legislative changes to conform such programs to civil-defense requirements; eleventh, direct, with approval of the President, other Federal departments and agencies to undertake specific civil-defense projects or programs; twelfth, establish regional, area, and local offices and civil-defense organizational arrangements; thirteenth, integrate civil-defense measures with those for the protection of military, atomic, and other defense installations; fourteenth, assist State and local civil-defense organizations by cooperating in financing for personnel and administrative expenses and other requirements; fifteenth, insure that State and local civil-defense organizations receiving Federal assistance comply with terms and conditions pre-

scribed by the Secretary; and sixteenth, conduct civil-defense training exercises and make such other preattack preparations as needed.

The bill also provides for transfer of all functions of the Federal Civil Defense Administration and certain functions of the Office of Defense Mobilization to the Secretary of Civil Defense.

In addition to the major change of establishing civil defense as a regular executive department of the Government, as provided in this bill, other important provisions should be noted which place civil defense as a part of our total military-defense program.

The scientific advisory board will bring much-needed scientific talent to civil defense and will offer a highly coordinated program to replace the present system which has not been utilized to the fullest. Provision for a civil-defense advisory council gives statutory representation to State and local government, industry, labor, and the public, and for the first time would provide a definite connection between Federal civil defense and normal peacetime activities.

Placing functions of the FCDA and ODM under one program will result in coordination of both purpose and activities, while the national plan takes on a much broader objective in that its purpose also is aimed at restoring our national economy following enemy attack.

The new department also receives clear determination as to its role in our Nation's defense pattern as well as acquiring civil-disaster functions now vested in the President and delegated to the FCDA by Executive order.

Emergency authority is granted to the Secretary of Civil Defense under this bill, but it also is made clear that the purpose of emergency authority is to create a civilian government substitute for military rule and martial law. The military role in a national emergency is to be one of full cooperation and assistance to civil authorities consistent with military missions.

I have stated in the past that our civil-defense program is dangerously outmoded. Should a national emergency arise, I am not at all certain that under our present civil-defense system we could cope successfully with a disaster of national proportion.

I am convinced that legislation providing for reorganization of our civil-defense program is long overdue, and to neglect or ignore this vital arm so necessary to our self-preservation could lead to our own destruction.

It is my most earnest hope that this 85th Congress will take the steps that result in revising and revitalizing our civil-defense program—steps that could well rank in importance with other great efforts to keep the peace.

It should also be pointed out that the bill introduced today is a draft of proposed legislation and does not constitute the final form in which the bill may appear. Committee hearings will be held, at which time we will hear various witnesses, and it is expected changes will be made in the bill through committee action.

THE HONORABLE JAMES P. RICHARDS

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to announce that one of our former colleagues, the former chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Honorable James P. Richards, has a new assignment. He was appointed as special assistant to the President with the rank of an Ambassador and will head the special mission to the Middle East. I am sure that all of his colleagues, as I do, wish him well. I am sure we all join his host of friends and admirers in extending to him our best wishes.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that all Members of the House, on both sides of the aisle, would welcome this splendid appointment. Our former chairman had the respect and the affection of the Congress on both sides of the Capitol, on both sides of the aisle.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I believe the President has made a wise decision in choosing our former chairman for that post.

TITO VISIT

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago the newspapers reported that the President of the United States was about to issue an invitation to Dictator Tito, of Yugoslavia, to visit Washington.

Tito's record as a Communist tyrant and the numerous murders and massacres inflicted on innocent people within the borders of Yugoslavia should forever bar him from being invited by the leaders of our free democracy to visit our shores. He personifies antifreedom, antireligion, antidemocracy, and anti-labor. His record as a noncompromising and ruthless tyrant should estop any recognition and honor which our Government would extend to him by an invitation to the White House.

I have received a great number of protests from citizens and organizations in the Calumet region in Indiana asking that President Eisenhower refuse to invite this dictator to Washington.

I hereby incorporate with my remarks a telegram received from Mr. John T. Marich, honorary president of the Gary chapter of the Serbian National Council of America.

GARY, IND., December 23, 1956.

HON. RAY MADDEN,
Congressman, First District of Indiana,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The general press of the United States has been flooded with the most devastating and disgraceful news of President Eisenhower's pending invitation of the Yugoslavia Dictator Tito to visit the United States. As one of the citizens of Serbian descent who have been voting for the last 55 years for a better and fuller democracy of the United States, I vigorously and indignantly protest against the disgraceful and dangerous act of the White House of inviting the dictator and murderer of so many Serbian democracy-loving people, including my own immediate relatives, to honor him with the White House invitation to visit this country and thereby impliedly, if not actually, sanction and approve of his fiendish deeds of the killing of the liberty-loving Serbian people, as well as American aviators. Every self-respecting Serbian in America will suffer agony from shame for his adopted country, America, to compromise its world's prestige by such an unthinkable invitation.

I ask you, Congressman, to lodge a strong protest on the Congress floor in behalf of the Serbian people and all other democratic-loving people of the United States against the President's invitation of Dictator Tito.

JOHN T. MARICH,
Honorary President of the Gary
Chapter of the Serbian National
Council of America.

MAKING INAUGURATION DAY A LEGAL HOLIDAY IN METROPOLITAN AREA OF DISTRICT OF CO- LUMBIA

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 1—making Inauguration Day a legal holiday in the metropolitan area of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the 20th day of January 1957 and the 20th day of January in every fourth year thereafter, known as Inauguration Day, is hereby made a legal holiday in the metropolitan area of the District of Columbia for the purpose of all statutes relating to the compensation and leave of employees of the United States, including the legislative and judicial branches, and of the District of Columbia, employed in such area: *Provided, however,* That whenever the 20th day of January in any such year shall fall on a Sunday, the next succeeding day selected for the public observance of the inauguration of the President of the United States shall be considered a legal holiday as provided by this joint resolution.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this joint resolution, the term "metropolitan area of the District of Columbia" shall include, in addition to the District of Columbia, Montgomery, and Prince Georges Counties, Md.; Arlington and Fairfax Counties, Va.; and the cities of Alexandria and Falls Church, Va.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, this resolution is similar to one I introduced at the beginning of the session. It provides on a permanent basis a holiday for Inauguration Day for Federal employees in the District of Columbia

area. This will include, in addition to the District of Columbia, Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties in Maryland; Arlington and Fairfax Counties in Virginia; and the cities of Alexandria and Falls Church, Va.

Traditionally schools in this area have been excused on Inauguration Day. For the past several inaugurations arrangements have been made for the Federal employees to be given a holiday in order that they may observe the historical and important activities in connection with the inauguration. By making this a permanent arrangement—one which will occur only once every 4 years—my resolution will eliminate the necessity for acting upon this matter on every inauguration. It will provide for uniformity.

Four years ago I introduced a similar resolution directed toward the Inauguration Day of 1953. This resolution was approved by the House.

With the intensive and exciting activities of Inauguration Day, it would be most difficult for employees to get to and from work in this area or to perform satisfactorily their functions once at their desks.

Heads of departments and agencies can, of course, under my resolution, provide for the manning of necessary posts where for special public reasons employees must be on duty on Inauguration Day.

This resolution does not authorize an additional legal holiday. It merely takes care of a situation that happily occurs every 4 years in the United States and affects only the working situation of the employees around the metropolitan area of the District of Columbia.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MEMBERS ON THE PART OF THE HOUSE OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of title 42, section 2251, United States Code, the Chair appoints as members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy the following members on the part of the House:

The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. DURHAM]; the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD]; the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE]; the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY]; the gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. DEMPSEY]; the gentleman from New York [Mr. COLE]; the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. VAN ZANDT]; and the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. PATTERSON].

HON. SAM RAYBURN

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House, and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, January 6, 1957, and tomorrow, January

8, 1957, mark two significant anniversaries in the life of a great American.

Yesterday was the birthday anniversary of our great Speaker. Tomorrow marks his 50th anniversary as a legislator. It was on January 8, 50 years ago, that SAM RAYBURN, in the year 1907, at the age of 25, held up his hand for the first time and took the oath of office as a member of a legislative body. At that time, 50 years ago, he became a member of the Texas House of Representatives. Four years later he became the youngest speaker of the Texas House. He was then 29 years of age. The next year he came to this Congress, and, as I think most of you know, he has been here ever since.

Mr. RAYBURN's 50 years of legislative service, including the 5 years in the Texas Legislature, is the most extensive service in American legislative bodies, according to the Library of Congress. The late Senator Carter Glass and Speaker Cannon ranked as near competitors with 46 years each. Senator Hayden of Arizona, Senator Hale of Maine, and Representative Sabath, of Illinois, follow with 45 years. These figures include service in State legislatures.

You may be interested in comparative information from other great democracies. William E. Gladstone was about the only man that Speaker RAYBURN can now seek to surpass. As far as the Library of Congress can tell, Mr. Gladstone served in the Parliament of Great Britain for 60 years. Arthur James Balfour served for 56 years. Sir Winston Churchill has now served 54 years, and Sir Winston is still serving.

Speaker RAYBURN has already surpassed any such record in France. Mr. Charles Freycinet served there for a total of 44 years.

Therefore, I think it very significant that we pause here today between two great anniversaries in the life of our distinguished Speaker—his birthday and, on tomorrow, the 50th anniversary of his official service to his State, to his Nation, and to the free world.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. MARTIN. I join the gentleman from Louisiana in his eulogy and praise of our distinguished Speaker. May I say in behalf of all the Republicans that we appreciate the fine service rendered by Speaker RAYBURN. He is a great American, and the country has benefited greatly from his long and faithful services. May he have many years of further service and good health is the wish of all.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. COOPER. The people of Tennessee take great pride in the fact that our beloved and distinguished Speaker was born in the Volunteer State of Tennessee. I am confident that I express the true sentiment and feeling of all the Tennessee delegation in Congress as well as all the people of the State in conveying hearty congratulations and sincere

best wishes for many happy returns to our distinguished and beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

SPEAKER SAM RAYBURN

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PATMAN. The people of Texas of course are very proud of the distinguished Speaker of the House, Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. RAYBURN tells new Members of Congress, as he told me when I first came here and as he has told all new Members, that this body is one in which a Member can succeed or fail according to his own conduct and actions. That is, a Member has two constituencies. One constituency makes it possible for him to come here and remain here and thereby give him the opportunity to serve the people. The other constituency is represented by his colleagues, those with whom he serves here on the floor of the House. He must likewise get along with them in order to be of service to the people who make it possible for him to serve in this body. Mr. RAYBURN has many achievements to his credit as a Member of the Congress, and I would just like to mention one or two.

No. 1. Texas was deficient in road building. Texas was not alone. All States were in a similar position. The farmers were in the mud, in the sand. There was an effort to get farm-to-market roads, but that effort never was successful until Mr. RAYBURN, as Speaker of the House, refused to permit a bill to be brought before this body when he was Speaker in 1944 until the Committee on Roads—at that time it was the Committee on Roads—went back and agreed to earmark at least 30 percent of all Federal highway funds for farm-to-market roads. That started our farm-to-market road program in the United States. You know how successful it has been and how acceptable it has been to the people.

No. 2. Mr. RAYBURN was author of the Rural Electrification Administration Act. That act not only helped the farmers to receive the blessings of electricity, and one of the greatest blessings of mankind is electricity, but also created a great market. It created a good market for many other things. Since that law was passed under the leadership, guidance, and authorship of Speaker RAYBURN, the farmers of this country on REA lines have purchased more than \$15 billion of appliances of all kinds. So that created a great market for many manufactured products. Of course, we know what that means.

Those are just two things that I have mentioned in the life of this great statesman. I could mention a number of others, including Federal Securities Act, Stock Exchange Regulation Act, Federal Deposit Insurance Act, Soil, Water Conservation and Flood Control Acts, authorizing the Denison and Lavon Dams, Farm Price Support Act, Communications Act, GI bill of rights, and Social Security.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE LIFE OF SPEAKER RAYBURN SURPASSES ANY HORATIO ALGER STORY

The true story of Speaker RAYBURN's life is more interesting, touching, and dramatic than any Horatio Alger story ever written. His life discloses what a young man can do if he possesses certain qualities and virtues, even though he and his parents were poor in this world's goods.

Mr. RAYBURN started out 50 years ago when he first entered public service, as he is now, an honest, sincere, trustworthy and genuine man. His word has always been good. He has always been forthright and courageous in his methods and policies. His great success has been due to many factors, but most outstanding were fairness and justice toward all people with whom he came in contact.

It is my belief that every day of his life he has given much thought and study to ways and means of being of greater service to the people he has the honor to represent and to the Nation as a whole.

One of the greatest rewards of any public official is the knowledge that he has performed his duties without fear or favor. Anyone who has ever known Speaker RAYBURN knows that he has never been unduly influenced in casting any vote or taking any action affecting the interest of the people of the country; he has always been considerate and kind to people who visit his office and visit him personally, particularly new Members of Congress.

If, when I have served the allotted time in the Congress of the United States, it can be said that I have achieved certain things that are helpful to the people of our country, Speaker RAYBURN will be entitled to a royalty interest in all of any such achievements of mine due to the fact that he gave me the proper help, guidance, and leadership during my service in Congress with him.

It cannot be said of Speaker RAYBURN that he has no enemies because he has enemies. He has accomplished something. In his many achievements he has stepped on the toes of powerful, influential and some greedy people, who were violently opposed to his actions. I am reminded of what I heard many years ago about the person who had no enemies:

He has no enemies, you say,
My friend, your boast is poor,
He who hath mingled in the fray
Of duty, that the brave endure
Must have many foes.
If he has none, small is the work that he has done.
He has hit no traitor on the hip.
He has cast no cup from the perfumed lip.
He has never turned the wrong to right.
He has been a coward in the fight.

That is the reason that Speaker RAYBURN has some enemies. He has been a courageous man and never in his life one time has he ever been guilty of any action that could not be considered honorable and forthright.

SAM RAYBURN LIBRARY

The Sam Rayburn Foundation will complete the Sam Rayburn Library in the city of Bonham, Tex., within a few months.

It will, in a small way, recognize the greatness of this wonderful statesman.

In the library brochure that was prepared by friends of SAM RAYBURN in 1955 is found the following information:

SAM RAYBURN—AMERICAN

To close observers of the national scene and to his colleagues who have seen the Rayburn genius for persuasive legislative diplomacy through the decades he stands out in the history of his time as the great leader. It is one of his special talents to reconcile the judgments of men of strong conviction but of opposite views on controversial legislation. Basically, this was achieved by the respect and the confidence he had built up among his legislative friends and opponents for granite integrity and complete knowledge of the issues and the needs. The Rayburn influence in enabling the legislative branch to meet crisis after crisis in four decades of war and peace will go down as the outstanding major individual contribution to the events that have shaped United States and world history.

SAM RAYBURN was born on the Clinch River, Roane County, Tenn., January 6, 1882. At the age of 5 he moved from Tennessee and settled on a farm south of Windom, Tex. He attended country school at Flagg Springs, Tex. After receiving his bachelor of science degree from Mayo School, Commerce, now the East Texas State Teachers College, he studied law at the University of Texas in preparation for a legal profession. He embarked on his political career as a member of the Texas House of Representatives, serving from 1907 to 1913, the last 2 years as speaker of the house. He was elected to the 63d Congress of the United States in 1912, taking his seat on March 4, 1913, and has served continuously since.

In 1913 he became chairman of the great Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and as such pressed to enactment important legislation of historic significance. In 1937, as the Democratic majority leader, he was the first Texan to hold that position. In 1940 he became Speaker of the House, the second Texan ever elected to that high and respected post, and the 44th incumbent in the history of the United States. SAM RAYBURN has served as Speaker longer than any other man in history. During the 80th Congress and the 83d he was elected Democratic leader. The Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia in 1948 and the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1952 elected him permanent chairman. Again on January 5, 1955, RAYBURN was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives—the day preceding his 73d birthday. Altogether, he has been elected Speaker of the House 7 times: 1940, 1941, 1943, 1945, 1949, 1951, and 1955.

The Speaker of the House is first in presidential succession next to the Vice President.

I have been very close to my fellow Texan during my 28 years in the Congress. He has given fatherly aid to many a young man coming to Congress for the first time. As majority leader and as Speaker, he has been endowed with great powers but has used them sparingly because he relies more upon persuasion than coercion. He is a friend of the farmer, the worker, the aged, the businessman—and especially the small-business man—and a genuine friend of those who serve their country and their loved ones.

SAM RAYBURN is not only honest, able, and affable, but he is dependable and loyal. It can truthfully be said of him what Thomas Jefferson once said of a great public official, and that is, "You

could turn his soul inside out and not find a speck on it." His life conclusively reveals that he is guided by the teachings of the Golden Rule, the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount.

The Speaker typifies much of what is most attractive in American life. He is a man of simple faith and simple utterance; indignant in the presence of injustice and scornful of shame; restrained in his tastes and his pleasures; determined but not dogmatic; dignified but not pompous; hardworking, kind, and patient. Many men of his kind have sat in the House before him and helped direct America in the paths of greatness. He is a fine example of our kind of civilization, created and tempered by the peculiar conditions of American life. No Member of Congress is more anxious to assist one of his constituents or more eager to be of help to his own Congressional District than SAM RAYBURN. His national leadership has not in the least distracted his thoughts from his own constituents, about whom he often says, "I shall never cease to be grateful to the people, who make it possible for me to remain in Congress."

We in Texas and in Congress are proud of SAM RAYBURN.

Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, it is natural and proper that the State of Tennessee be very proud of our distinguished Speaker for the fact that he was born in that great State, and that the State of Texas be very proud of our distinguished Speaker because of his residence and citizenship in that State for so many years. But, I might say, the entire United States is proud of SAM RAYBURN and the public service that he has rendered and which he typifies. To him public office is a public trust. He served in this great body during many trying periods in the history of our country and in the history of the world. He has always been found true. He has always acted with vision and with courage. Whenever the national interest of our country is involved, SAM RAYBURN always has given the type of leadership within the Halls of this body which was for the best interest of our country as a whole. He is tremendously respected by all Americans without regard to political affiliation. He is a sound progressive—and there is no political implication in the remark that I am about to make—but in the Halls of Congress, SAM RAYBURN pioneered and led the fight for the great reform measures of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt in the years 1933 and following that time when he was chairman of that great and responsible committee, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

He led the fight for important measures in those days that are now accepted by a great majority of our people—and again without regard to political affiliations—as a necessary part of our domestic economy and our domestic strength.

From a personal angle SAM RAYBURN is a man with a heart of gold. He is a very sentimental gentleman. He has a

very warm heart. He is always trying to do something to help someone else. I have referred to him on several occasions in the past, and from a personal angle I think the best way to refer to him is as I did a few moments ago, that he is a man with a heart of gold.

He and I have been very closely associated with each other since my freshman days in the House. He has been very kind to me as a Member of the House and, during the last 17 years in our relationship to each other, he as Speaker and I as Democratic leader on the floor. I can say that my feeling of respect for SAM RAYBURN and deep friendship for him is the same inwardly when I am talking with friends of mine in my office and elsewhere, as it is when I express myself outwardly to the public.

My life and the life of all others who have had the honor to know this great man, and he is greater because he is humble, and he is greater because he is good, my life because of having known him has been enriched immeasurably.

Like the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Boggs] and all of my other colleagues I join with them in extending to our Speaker our congratulations and our felicitations on these two anniversaries, and we pray that God will continue to shower upon him for years to come an abundance of His choicest blessings.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. SIKES. Let me say for all the Florida delegation in Congress that on this day Florida proudly casts all of its sunshine votes for SAM RAYBURN. We are proud indeed to have an opportunity to pay homage and respect to this great American.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, first I want to commend my colleague from Louisiana [Mr. Boggs] upon the excellent statement he has made concerning the life and service of our beloved Speaker.

Secondly, on behalf of the people of my State who love SAM RAYBURN and look upon him as a Congressman at large from the State of Oklahoma, I extend our heartiest congratulations and best wishes.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield.

Mr. CARNAHAN. I want to add my congratulations to SAM RAYBURN for his long service in the House of Representatives, and for another birthday. I speak for myself and on behalf of all the Members of the Missouri delegation. We honor SAM RAYBURN not just for his longevity of service but for the gentleman that he is and for the many services that he has so efficiently rendered to all of the people of this great Nation of ours and to all of the people of the free world.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield.

Mr. VORYS. I would like to join in the tribute to our great Speaker. I think sometimes when we are living close to an historic character we do not realize it. The fact is, however, this man has served longer than anyone in the history of the Republic in the great office which he now holds, and that continuity of service is no accident but is a tribute to his many fine qualities. Let me mention just one of them: In the past decade and a half there have been times when, in the management and arrangement of our affairs here in the House, I have consulted with the Speaker on many matters where it might have been quite possible to have some little misunderstanding. On many occasions a slight misunderstanding, or a slight misinterpretation, of an agreement might have been used to partisan advantage. I want to say, and I know there are scores of others here who will join me in this, that in any matter involving the business of this House SAM RAYBURN's word is good, and a nod of his head is as good as his word. There has never been any misunderstanding, or any misinterpretation of any agreement I have had with him through the years, even though some of those agreements were quite informal, but involved complicated procedures. SAM RAYBURN is completely and thoroughly reliable. That is just one quality among many others that has caused him to hold this historic position longer than anyone in our history, and to continue to hold our affection and respect.

Mr. BOGGS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, it has become a custom on January 6 of each year, and a very pleasant one it is, to sing the praises of the life and character of the gentleman from Texas, SAM RAYBURN, and to wish him well in the days to come. The main characteristic of all these encomiums is that they come from the heart and everyone really means what he says. This is especially true this year when our beloved Speaker celebrates his 75th birthday, and may I say he doesn't look a day older than he did when I first came to Congress 14 years ago. Indeed, his keen mind is just as sharp as ever, his code of ethics is still outstanding, his warmth of friendship is just as strong, his sense of humor is even brighter, and his love of country remains as immovable and stanch as the Rock of Gibraltar. He was always a great man—today he is greater than ever.

Not many men have experienced such active and intimate service for their country, nor have lived in such exciting and changing times as has SAM RAYBURN. He has walked with the leaders of the world, he has advised them in critical times, but he has always maintained the common touch and the understanding heart which attract men to him. He honors us by his friendship. He has sponsored and aided in the passage of legislation which has affected the economy of mankind, and he has presided over the House of Representatives longer than any other Speaker in history. I

hope someone will write his biography so the world may know and realize what a great man he is and to learn to understand why we love and respect him.

Mr. Speaker, I wish you many happy returns of the day, and may God's rich blessings be showered upon you.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. BREEDING].

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, I, too, would like to add my remarks of congratulations from the Sunflower State of Kansas. As a new Member, as an individual, and as a Representative of the people of Kansas, I wish Speaker RAYBURN many happy returns of the day and even longer service to the people of our great country.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the Delegate from Hawaii [Mr. BURNS].

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii numbers among its citizens many who claim citizenship in Texas. I would be remiss if I did not extend on their behalf and on behalf of the people of Hawaii our fondest me ke aloha, and the desire that many more years of health be given to you so that you may continue to serve the people and provide the inspiration in fairness and justice that you have in the past. Aloha.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, as a new member of the North Carolina delegation, and on behalf of the new members of the North Carolina delegation, I should like to express our appreciation of the long and splendid service which has been rendered by our distinguished Speaker, SAM RAYBURN.

It was my privilege to meet Speaker RAYBURN in 1940 when he visited our community with the late Congressman A. L. Bulwinkle, who was my very dear friend. I know Mr. RAYBURN's many visits to North Carolina since that time have endeared him to the people of my State. The outstanding record of public service which he has established is sufficient laudation to him on this significant occasion.

However, I would like to say that I join with the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana, and the others who have spoken today, in wishing for our Speaker the success, the long life, and the happiness which will cause him to exceed even the record of the late Sir William Gladstone.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I am sure I speak the sentiments of the entire Republican delegation from Ohio when I join in this tribute that is being paid to the Speaker of the House of Representatives on his 75th birthday. While we on this side voted for our good friend and our leader on this side, Mr. MARTIN, for Speaker, I want you to know that the Republican delegation from Ohio not only respects but we love Speaker Sam.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, Speaker RAYBURN is not only a great legislator

but he is also a philosopher and on this eve of his 50th anniversary as a legislator I should like to quote for the edification of all of us just one or two of his sayings which have become famous.

The first is: "Commonsense—that's just about all the sense there is."

Another one: "In politics if you cannot trust your instincts, you are not going anywhere."

Here is another one: "Damn the man who is always looking for credit. I have always noticed that if a man does his job, and does it well, he will get more credit than he is really entitled to."

Another one, and this is a very important one: "You never have to explain something you did not say."

Here is another one and the last one: "Life is a great romance—the greatest romance there is."

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have permission to extend their remarks at this point in the RECORD in reference to our great Speaker, Mr. RAYBURN.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, may I join with all of your many friends in extending to you felicitations on the occasion of your 75th birthday. This is a memorable event and an important milestone in your long and fruitful life. As one of the most beloved men in public life today, you enjoy the affection and good will of every Member of the House irrespective of party. Your untiring service to the Congress and to the Nation should be an inspiration to the new Members of this body who are just beginning their legislative careers as it has been a source of strength and guidance to those of us who have been privileged to serve under your leadership in the past. Our wish for you is that you will have many more happy birthdays to come and that you will enjoy continued good health.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the members of our Wisconsin delegation, I wish to convey our sincerest congratulations to our eminent Speaker upon his 75th birthday and the 50th anniversary of his legislative service to his community, his State, and to our Nation.

We have been fortunate, indeed, to have a man of your experience and wisdom leading and guiding us in these crucial years. You have devoted your energies and your many talents to unselfishly serving the public interest, and you have earned the respect and gratitude of the Nation.

In expressing our congratulations, I wish to voice my hope and prayers that the good Lord will bless you, Mr. Speaker, with many years of good health and happiness, and that, we in the House of Representatives and our entire Nation, may continue to have the benefit of your distinguished service and leadership for many years to come.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, may I also have the sincere pleasure and honor of saying for the distinguished Speaker, who sits in the Speaker's chair at this moment, that ever since I first came to this great legislative body a bit over 10

years ago now, his patriotic devotion, his fairmindedness, his equal justice in his rulings, and his consecrated purpose and service to our beloved country—these are some of the factors which have made my work in this House of Representatives most pleasant, most satisfying, and most inspiring. I join with each and all in most cordial felicitations on his birthday, on his anniversary of great legislative contribution to the legislative history of our Nation and to progress toward an enduring world peace. I am sure that I speak these extemporaneous words not only for myself but for those members of the California delegation who do not happen to be on the floor at this moment.

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to join my colleague, Congressman COOPER, of Tennessee—the dean of our delegation—and my other colleagues in extending to Speaker RAYBURN my very best wishes on the occasion of his 75th birthday anniversary—may there be many such future celebrations.

As Congressman COOPER has indicated, we of Tennessee claim Speaker RAYBURN as one of our State's most distinguished sons. I feel compelled to repeat and to remind my colleagues that our Speaker is not only a native of Tennessee, but that he was born in Roane County which is located in the district immediately adjacent to the great district which I have the honor to represent in the Congress.

Speaker RAYBURN has many relatives in Tennessee—and a host of friends and admirers who are proud of his great achievements and attainments. I know they would want me to salute our Speaker and to extend to him best wishes on this his birthday anniversary.

Speaker RAYBURN's achievements in the Congress have been unexcelled. We are fortunate to be able to call him our friend and we wish for him many more years of happiness and usefulness.

THE HUNGARIAN SITUATION

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BENTLEY] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, before I begin my main remarks this afternoon I would like to join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in paying a well-deserved tribute to our beloved and distinguished Speaker upon the completion of these two memorable anniversaries.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that every Member of Congress, as well as millions of our fellow citizens, has been shocked and sickened in recent weeks by the events that have taken place in the little central European country of Hungary. Those tragic events had particular significance for me since I spent 2 years in the city of Budapest, from 1947 to 1949, watching the Communists progressively enslave the Hungarian people.

A brief review of the events of the critical period, October 23 to November 4, would, I think, be useful at this point. On October 23 student demonstrations broke out in Budapest and the demonstrators were fired on by the Communist police. Street fighting ensued and the

puppet Hungarian Government called for help from the Soviet occupation forces.

More Soviet troops entered the fighting the next day. The Hungarian Government appealed for the fighting to stop and announced surrender deadlines, which were ignored. Meanwhile fighting broke out in several large provincial cities.

As the revolt spread new elements were brought into the Hungarian Communist Government which broadcast promises of substantial reform, including negotiations for the withdrawal of Soviet troops in exchange for a cease-fire. Non-Communists were included in the Government for the first time on October 27.

On Sunday, October 28, the Government announced a cease-fire and the Prime Minister, Imre Nagy, stated that Soviet troops would withdraw from Budapest immediately. It was at this time that the local revolutionary committees and revolutionary workers' councils came to prominence with their demands, including Soviet military withdrawal from Hungary, free elections, and free speech, Hungarian neutrality, and many others.

A coalition government was formed on October 30, headed by Prime Minister Nagy. The next day he stated that Hungary was prepared to quit the Warsaw Pact and had asked for negotiations to get Soviet troops out of Hungary. It was at this time that Hungary's best-known anti-Communist, Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty, was liberated from his political prison and arrived in Budapest.

On November 1, Nagy formally announced that Hungary had withdrawn from the Warsaw Pact and proclaimed Hungarian neutrality. He also requested the United Nations to put the Hungarian question on its agenda. Meanwhile, Soviet troops were beginning to encircle Hungarian airfields and take key railways. This action was protested by the Hungarian Government on November 2 and the United Nations was notified of Soviet activities. The U. N. was also requested to appeal to the great powers to recognize Hungarian neutrality. Because of the importance of this appeal, I am going to read its text as broadcast by the Hungarian radio and monitored by the free Europe committee:

To Mr. DAG HAMMARSKJOLD,
Secretary General of the United Nations,
New York:

Your excellency, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic wishes to bring the following supplementary information to the knowledge of your excellency:

I have already mentioned in my message of November 1 that new Soviet military formations had entered Hungary, that the Hungarian Government had informed the Soviet Ambassador about this, that it had repudiated the Warsaw Pact, that it had declared Hungary's neutrality and had turned to the United Nations to guarantee the neutrality. On November 2 the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic received new important information, army reports, according to which considerable Soviet military formations have crossed the country's frontier. They are advancing toward Budapest, occupying railway lines, railway stations, railway traffic installations and so forth on their way.

Reports have also been received about Soviet troop movements, in an east-west direction, in western Hungary.

In view of the above-mentioned facts the Hungarian Government deems it necessary to inform the Soviet Embassy in Budapest and the other diplomatic missions accredited to Budapest about the steps directed against our people's republic. The Hungarian Government has at the same time made concrete proposals to the Soviet Government concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary, and the place for negotiations concerning implementation of the repudiation of the Warsaw Pact, and has also communicated the names of the Hungarian governmental delegation. In addition to this, the Hungarian Government has proposed to the Soviet Embassy in Budapest the setting up of a mixed committee to prepare the way for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

I ask Your Excellency to call on the great powers to recognize Hungary's neutrality. The Security Council should instruct the Soviet and the Hungarian Governments to begin negotiations immediately. I ask Your Excellency to inform the members of the Security Council about the above facts and to accept the expression of my sincere esteem.

On Sunday, November 4, the blackest day in modern Hungarian history, Soviet forces attacked Budapest and other large cities of Hungary. The result was as expected, although fighting in Budapest continued until November 14 and partisan activity still is believed to be carried on. Typical of the appeals which went out from Hungarian transmitters is this one:

Civilized people of the world, listen and come to our aid, not with declarations, but with force, with soldiers and arms. Do not forget that there is no stopping the wild onslaught of bolshevism. Your turn will also come, once we perish. Save our souls! Save our souls!

Peoples of Europe whom we helped for centuries to withstand the barbaric attacks from Asia, listen to the tolling of Hungarian bells warning against disaster. * * * Civilized peoples of the world, we implore you to help us in the name of justice, of freedom, of the binding moral principles of active solidarity. Our ship is sinking. Light is failing, the shadows grow darker every hour over the soil of Hungary. Listen to the cry, civilized peoples of the world, and act; extend to us your fraternal hand.

SOS—SOS—may God be with you.

These bare, matter-of-fact developments which I have outlined form the skeleton of the Hungarian fight for freedom. Other noteworthy developments have, of course, subsequently taken place in Hungary, such as the protest strikes, sitdowns and slowdowns, the large-scale demonstrations by Hungarian womanhood, and other forms of passive protest. None of them, however, appear to have been successful in obtaining any major concessions from the Soviets or the Communist puppet regime of Janos Kadar. Not by terrorism, but by hunger and cold, the backbone of the Hungarian revolt appears to have been broken.

Having briefly sketched events in Hungary, Mr. Speaker, let us review the action on the part of this Government. Relief supplies of food, clothing, and medicines have been made available since the first days of fighting. While the frontier was open, these supplies were sent into Hungary through any

and all means available. Assistance is still going in via the International Red Cross and CARE, Inc. There has also been large-scale economic relief for the thousands of Hungarian refugees who entered Austria and the chances that the Congress will be asked to authorize further aid, both to the refugees and to the Austrian Government itself, are quite considerable.

I am sure that the Members are familiar with action which has been taken concerning the refugees themselves. I am equally sure that this subject will be thoroughly covered during the debate on our current immigration legislation and it is my purpose to touch on it now only briefly. I should like to point out, in the first place, that many other Western countries have taken similar and even greater action, comparably speaking, toward the admission and resettlement of roughly 150,000 refugees from Hungary that have entered Austria up to this time.

Last Tuesday Vice President Nixon submitted to the President his report of the Hungarian refugee problem. I shall not go into the details of this report but, in general, I should like to express my own approval of the ideas and recommendations contained therein.

There have, of course, been fears and concern expressed regarding the possible inclusion of Communist agents among the refugees. It is, admittedly, difficult to apply standard security checks to such large numbers of people in a very short space of time. But I believe that the Hungarian refugees themselves are relatively capable of determining whether or not there are spies and informers in their midst. Having sacrificed so much to make their escape to freedom, I know they will do all possible to warn of undesirable individuals among them. Actually, people have already been detected and returned to Hungary on legitimate grounds of suspicion. Further, I would not like to be in the shoes of any Communist spy among the refugees who was discovered by his compatriots. If you saw news pictures of the treatment of the secret police at the hands of the Budapest freedom fighters, you will understand what I mean.

There has also been concern expressed regarding the possible effect the admission of large numbers of refugees might have upon our own employment situation. I might in this connection state that the large labor unions themselves have been foremost in urging the admission of larger numbers. Personally, I believe that these people can and will be readily absorbed within our economy. I have so stated to many of my own constituents who have expressed some fears in this regard.

There is, however, one cause for concern which I have myself in this whole problem. The majority of the refugees were engaged in the Hungarian uprising—they formed the center and the core of anti-Communist resistance. They would certainly have been the leaders of future resistance or opposition to the Communist regime if they had remained behind. Now they have escaped in large numbers to Austria. Under the

operation of the refugee program, they are being scattered to the four corners of the globe, to Canada, to Australia, to South America, to this country and to many other far-removed places. Should not some thought be given to the possibility that by this dispersal we are harming the effectiveness of future anti-Communist resistance in Hungary? I offer this thought as worthy of some consideration by those persons in charge of our refugee program as well as those responsible for our overall foreign policy.

In this connection, it is not surprising that the Soviets and Hungarian Communists have allowed the frontier to remain relatively open and have permitted the exodus of large numbers of refugees. By so doing, they have been able to get rid of many anti-Communist Hungarians who otherwise would have to be deported or imprisoned.

I think that the House is likewise familiar with action which has been taken by the United Nations, to a very considerable extent as the result of the initiative of our own representatives there. Of particular note is the strong resolution of condemnation of Soviet military intervention which was passed by the General Assembly recently. Other resolutions of similar sense had been adopted earlier. The Secretary General of the U. N., Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, has tried repeatedly to visit Hungary in person or to send in a team of observers. These efforts have all come to naught due to the uncompromising attitude of refusal taken by the present Hungarian Government. Such attempts now appear to have been abandoned, at least for the time being.

I notice by the news ticker in the Speaker's lobby that Mr. Hammarskjöld admits they might as well give up trying to get United Nations observers or himself into Hungary, and that he intends to ask the Assembly for further extension of his authority, whatever that may mean. One idea that occurred to me when this came up was the possibility of getting together volunteers either as individuals or as units and seeing if we could get permission for these volunteers to get into Hungary. Then, on November 8, I received a telegram from the American-Hungarian Federation requesting me to wire the President and Ambassador Lodge, urging that the United States ask the United Nations to give permission for volunteers from America, Canada, Austria, South America, and so forth, to go into Hungary as nurses, aids, or volunteer soldiers if necessary. On the same day I sent the desired telegrams requesting our Government to ask the United Nations to permit international volunteers to enter Hungary in any capacity that will aid the Hungarian patriots. The White House replied on November 10 that this suggestion would receive very careful consideration and that I would have further advice very soon from the State Department.

Ambassador Lodge responded on November 15 and I quote the pertinent parts of his letter:

The United States is doing everything possible to speed United Nations action on this

vital matter. We are giving priority to the urgency of getting United Nations observers into Hungary and Secretary General Hammarskjöld is taking rapid steps to this end. The question of volunteers is one for the State Department to decide. * * *

The United States will continue to do everything in its power to keep faith with the Hungarian people. Their historic struggle has aroused the admiration of all free-men.

The State Department's reply was not forthcoming until December 7. Because of its importance, I quote it in full:

The tragedy which has occurred in Hungary has again exemplified the fierce desire for freedom on the part of the captive peoples of Eastern Europe. The Department of State and the people of the United States are deeply concerned about this tragic situation; indeed, our first concern is for the physical safety and well-being of the Hungarian people. In quick response to their pleas, President Eisenhower made millions of dollars' worth of relief and medical supplies immediately available; and has made it possible for thousands of uprooted Hungarians to find refuge in America, should they so desire.

The United States does not believe that military action on the part of this country or of the free world would have been in the interests of the Hungarian people. Rather, such action would have almost surely led to the utter destruction of that valiant country and opened up the possibility of a conflict engulfing the entire world.

The United States Government cannot approve the participation of American volunteers for the following considerations:

1. Section 349 (a) (3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 provides that American citizens shall lose their citizenship by entering or serving in the armed forces of a foreign State unless, prior to such entry or service, the entry or service is specifically authorized in writing by the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense. Such authorization for service in Hungary has not been granted in any individual case and there is no intention of departing from this policy.

2. American volunteers could not travel to Hungary without violating the neutrality of Austria and would undoubtedly be prevented from such a course by that Government.

3. In the light of the foregoing, American passports cannot now be validated for travel in Hungary.

4. We believe that the best opportunity for helping the Hungarian people at the present time is through our support of the efforts that are being made in the United Nations. These efforts would be seriously jeopardized if American volunteers were to proceed to Hungary.

Ambassador Lodge has taken a forceful lead in the United Nations and was instrumental in obtaining a majority for support of a resolution aimed not only at ending Soviet intervention and armed attack in Hungary, but also at upholding the right of the Hungarian people to freedom and justice.

President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles are giving their continued urgent attention to the courageous efforts of the Hungarian people. Certainly it is the hope of all America that they achieve their aims of greater liberty, national independence, and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

I would like to make a few comments on this letter setting forth to a considerable degree the official policy of our Government at the time of the Hungarian uprising. First, you will note that the State Department entirely ruled out the use of military force, either on our part or even as part of an international police force. I take it then, that had

a U. N. police force been in existence at the time, this Government would have opposed its use on the grounds that further destruction of and loss of life in Hungary would have been the result and the prospects for world war III would have been considerably enhanced. In other words, we opposed any military help of any kind being sent to the Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

The fact that American volunteers would have run the risk of expatriation if they had somehow been able to join the Freedom Fighters is, of course, a fact under our present nationality legislation. Whether this should be changed or not is, of course, for the Congress to decide. I can only express my gratitude that, during the days of our own American Revolution, no such legislation was operative to prevent the many foreign patriots (including Hungarians) who came to our shores to assist us in our own struggle for liberty and independence. It is truly fortunate that the help we received at that time from France and other countries was not confined to relief packages and resolutions condemning King George III.

Regarding the question of Austrian neutrality and the consequences that might ensue from its violation, that, of course, is a delicate problem. I understand that this fear operates to rule out many forms of assistance to Hungary that have been suggested, such as a food-lift by U. N. planes, the employment of balloons to carry in relief packages, in short, any departure from channels of relief work which have been permitted by the Communists. It would, naturally, be operable against any form of military assistance to the Hungarians, whether volunteers, military supplies, or anything else.

From reliable sources, I have learned that there has been considerable concern recently lest Soviet military forces might invade Austria. Now, under the terms of the Austrian peace treaty, the neutrality of that country is guaranteed by this Government as well as the Soviet Union. If Austria were invaded by Soviet troops, I cannot pretend to say what the reaction of this Government would be. I would suggest, however, that Austria would certainly be deserving of our protection as many of the Middle Eastern countries covered by the resolution presented to the Congress 2 days ago.

I do not necessarily take objection to the State Department's belief that we could best help Hungary through the United Nations. The government set up by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters themselves evidently thought so. There were no appeals direct to this Government from the Nagy regime at the time of the Soviet attack—they were all directed to the United Nations. What is reasonably certain is that, to this time, U. N. action has certainly not produced the hoped-for results.

Mr. Speaker, there have been many, many suggestions as to what could have been done and what might still be done to aid the embattled Hungarian patriots. There have been suggestions of economic, diplomatic, and political sanctions against the Soviet Union by all free nations. There have been sugges-

tions for the severance of diplomatic relations with the puppet Hungarian government and the expulsion of that government from membership in the United Nations. Similar suggestions have even been made regarding the Soviet Union itself. There have been suggestions to fly the U. N. Secretary-General or his appointed observers into Hungary without the permission of the Soviets or the Hungarian Communists, even though this would technically be a violation of the U. N. Charter. Another suggestion was to appoint U. N. observers from the staffs of Western diplomatic missions accredited to Budapest. Other suggestions, made while there was still widespread fighting, involved the immediate dispatch of military supplies to the Hungarian anti-Communists by any and all means available. I have already referred to the suggestion of a U. N. airlift of relief supplies to be dropped by parachute.

Leaders of the American-Hungarian Society with whom I recently discussed these matters laid particular emphasis on the urgency of getting large amounts of relief supplies into Hungary by any and all means available. They explained that Red Cross supplies are being shipped from Vienna direct to Budapest and CARE parcels direct from Belgrade to Budapest with the result that the Hungarian countryside is completely bypassed. Since the need in Budapest alone greatly exceeds the available supply, the chances are that several months will pass before the provincial cities receive their share of aid. It was suggested, therefore, that all other forms of relief supplies be sent across the Hungarian border wherever there might be an opening. The proposal of using balloons to get substantial amounts of food and medicine into Hungary was also suggested. Other proposals from these sources included the formation of a government in exile and permitting young Hungarian escapees to volunteer in NATO army units.

The Hungarian National Council recommended the establishment of a central register to keep track of all Hungarian Freedom Fighters who escaped. It suggested the use of appropriate economic assistance to the Hungarian people themselves and exploration of the possibility for private relief packages to be sent from this country to Hungary. A United States Government loan to the council itself was suggested to enable that organization to expand its activities. Economic sanctions against the Soviet Union were suggested and strong hope was expressed that the Congress would continue to keep the whole Hungarian question in the forefront of its attention.

All of these suggestions have varying merits and all deserve consideration by our Government and other governments of the free world. As far as the American people themselves are concerned, I think our feelings were best expressed in an editorial which appeared in the November 5 issue of the New York Times entitled "We Accuse." Mr. Speaker, I request unanimous consent to insert it in my remarks at this point.

WE ACCUSE

We accuse the Soviet Government of murder. We accuse it of the foulest treachery and the basest deceit known to man. We accuse it of having committed so monstrous a crime against the Hungarian people yesterday that its infamy can never be forgiven or forgotten.

Lenin wrote in 1900: "The Czarist Government not only keeps our people in slavery but sends it to suppress other peoples rising against their slavery (as was done in 1849 when Russian troops put down the revolution in Hungary)." How apt these words sound today when we substitute "Soviet" for "Czarist," and 1956 for 1849.

Hatred and pity, mourning and admiration, these are our emotions today: hatred for the men and the system which did not hesitate to shed new rivers of innocent Hungarian blood to reimpose slavery; pity for the Soviet soldiers, duped into thinking they were fighting Fascists when they killed defenseless or nearly defenseless men, women, and children; mourning and admiration for the heroic Hungarian people who feared not even death to strike for freedom.

Gone now are the last illusions. Moscow now stands self-exposed. The torrent of Soviet bullets yesterday did not kill only Hungary's freedom and Hungary's martyrs. Those bullets killed first of all the picture of a reformed, penitent Russia seeking to repudiate Stalinism and practice coexistence. Could Stalin have acted more barbarously than did his successors yesterday? Can we have any doubt now of what awaits us if we ever relax our vigilance and permit ourselves to become prey to Soviet might, as was Hungary yesterday?

The day of infamy is ended. The foul deed is done. The most heroic are dead. But the cause of freedom lives and is stronger than ever, nurtured by the blood of those who fell martyred in freedom's cause. The Hungarian people will never forget. We shall not forget. And out of hatred and tears is born the resolve to carry forward the struggle till freedom is triumphant.

Both in respect to responding to appeals for relief and in opening our doors to thousands of homeless refugees, the American people and the American Government have done a great deal and are prepared to do more. But I have a feeling that our people are unhappy and concerned that more concrete, more positive assistance was not forthcoming. I have not talked with anyone in a private capacity who is satisfied that we have done all we can.

The other day I read a rather remarkable article in the December 29 issue of the Saturday Evening Post, entitled "The Man Who Wanted to Help Hungary." It tells the story of Mr. John Richardson, a young associate of a New York banking house, who became stirred by the Hungarian fight for freedom and who was personally instrumental in securing substantial contributions of drugs, food, and money for the Hungarian relief. According to the article, Mr. Richardson was finally afforded the opportunity of purchasing supplies of weapons and sending them to the Hungarian Freedom Fighters. On the advice of the State Department, however, he abandoned this idea. I would now like to quote the concluding paragraphs of this article, written by Mr. Harold H. Martin:

He still is not convinced that he was right when he gave up trying to find weapons and send them into Hungary. To him, the Hungarians, in their week of bloody agony before

the tanks rolled over them, were not fighting for one form of communism as opposed to another. They were fighting for liberty, for the things that free men everywhere believe in and will die for. And he feels that he, and all the free world, let them down. If the Hungarians could have held out just a little longer, he believes that the restive, conquered nations of all the satellite countries might have flared into revolt. In east Germany, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Poland, brave and angry men inspired by Hungary's fight might have risen to strike down the iron curtain behind which they have lived in slavery for a decade.

If this flame of rebellion that flared so suddenly in Hungary could have been fanned, he feels—if the fire of revolt could have been spread by our help, official or unofficial—it might have finally reached the Kremlin. It might have meant the end of the Soviet tyranny, the finish for Mr. Molotov, and Mr. Khrushchev, and Mr. Bulganin, and all that crew of grim or smiling murderers who dream of a Communist empire that will dominate the world. It might have been the end of them and the beginning of the peace that men have prayed for through years of fear and frustration and cold war.

It was a turning point in history, he feels, when the first homemade Hungarian bomb exploded under a Soviet tank. Then, for just a moment, the door of freedom opened. But a cold voice spoke in the U. N., and the door slammed shut, and Hungary felt the clasp of Communist chains again while the anger and compassion of the free world dissolved in talk.

And this is why John Richardson today feels little pride in what he did to help, and is embarrassed and a little angry when you speak to him about it. Maybe he did do all that one man could do, he says. And maybe this country's Government and the United Nations did all that they could do. But it all boiled down to the things that are easy to give—to money, and medicine, and food, and sympathetic words, and a haven of peace for a few thousand homeless refugees. And that was not enough.

Mr. Speaker, it is a subject for legitimate debate, I believe, as to what our Government should or should not have done during the Hungarian crisis. Personally, I believe we should have done more, much more. I believe that as a result of our inability or our inaction or both, our so-called policy of liberation has to all intents and purposes gone down the drain. The peoples of any other satellite country know now that we are, or at least allege to be, nearly powerless to really assist them in their efforts to throw off their chains. If, by their own efforts, they should succeed in gaining partial independence, we will probably assist them from an economic point of view. But, so far as helping them when they need it the most, we either can, or will, do little or nothing.

But if the question of blame for this country's lack of action is debatable, surely the weak, pusillanimous, and vacillating attitude of the United Nations in this affair is deservedly subject to strong criticism. By its failure to go beyond words, beyond resolutions in this instance, the U. N. has shown its true impotency in a real crisis.

There is no question as to its responsibility—the Nagy government had appealed directly for U. N. assistance. But, as compared to the Suez matter, the U. N. has rather clearly shown that it is willing to abide by a double standard of

international law—one code for civilized aggressors, such as Britain and France, and one code for international barbarians and gangsters, such as the Soviets have proven themselves to be. No real attempt was made to get U. N. observers into Hungary, in spite of the mandate of the General Assembly, and now all pretense has been dropped by the disbanding of the three-man commission. As I said, Mr. Speaker, today's Bulletin carries the story from New York. Now Dag Hammarskjöld has admitted his complete inability to get U. N. observers in and has asked the General Assembly for a further extension of the orders.

Now I ask, what faith can the Hungarian people or any other Communist-controlled people now have in U. N. promises and pledges, what hope can they have in resolutions?

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to my colleague from California.

Mr. HILLINGS. Can the gentleman from Michigan tell me if this statement is true: Is it true that the representatives of Hungary, representatives of the Kadar government, have been invited by the Inaugural Committee here in Washington, to the inauguration and to the inaugural ball, and the festivities pertaining thereto?

Mr. BENTLEY. The gentleman's information on that is better than mine. I have not heard anything about it. I, of course, would regard it as atrocious if such an invitation had been issued, and certainly I hope none has. Certainly for such an invitation to be issued to the representatives of the puppet Hungarian government would be the last straw.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. McDONOUGH. I want to tell the gentleman that I very much appreciate the vast amount of research he has done on this subject which is a very vital matter and is something that is in order, as far as I personally am concerned, for debate in the House.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks following the remarks of the gentleman from Michigan.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I feel the Members of this House owe the gentleman from Michigan a vote of thanks for the thorough manner in which he has analyzed some of the most important aspects of the Hungarian freedom revolution. It is a well-known fact that Mr. BENTLEY is an outstanding American authority on the Hungarian nation. His broad knowledge concerning the conspiracy of communism makes him eminently qualified to perform the public service which he has so well done today.

I note that the Department of State, in rejecting the idea of American volunteers to aid the Hungarian patriots, ad-

vanced as one of its reasons that American volunteers could not get into Hungary without going through Austria and that to do so would violate the neutrality of Austria. I should like to draw attention of the Members of this House to an oversight on the part of the Department of State. If President Eisenhower's policy evaluation of Yugoslavia under date of October 15, 1956, which was made known to Congress only a few days ago, is valid, then American volunteers could have gone through Yugoslavia without violating anyone's neutrality. President Eisenhower has stated that Yugoslavia is not connected with the international Communist conspiracy and that Tito is prepared to assist all nations fighting for their freedom and independence—that being according to the President, the policy of Tito's regime. It is important—and I hope the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee will ask the Department of State why they consider Austria as the only means of entry into Communist-occupied Hungary.

The answer is apparent to anyone who has studied the situation. Here the Department of State, without equivocation, admits that the billion dollars of United States taxpayers money spent on Tito has been wasted and also that the President's policy evaluation of October 15, 1956, with respect to Tito, is invalid. Tito, by turning back to the Russians hundreds of the enemies of communism, including defectors from the Red Army, has provided additional proof that his first loyalty is to Moscow and that he holds nothing but contempt for the basic freedoms.

Mr. BENTLEY. I should like to point out to the gentleman from Ohio, my good friend, who has dedicated himself to the cause of freedom in the captive countries, that among other things, Tito has turned back some 150 Hungarians across the border into Yugoslavia.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That is my understanding.

Mr. BENTLEY. They have been turned back to the Communists.

Mr. FEIGHAN. That is my understanding.

I commend the gentleman for expressing the hope that Congress would help to keep the Hungarian revolution in the forefront of world attention. It is quite apparent that the Russians are attempting to divert world attention from the massacre of Hungarians by causing new trouble elsewhere in the world and that we are likely to aid and abet this Russian maneuver if we emphasize only the problems of the Middle East without keeping them in the focus of the Hungarian fight for freedom. I feel certain that the gentleman from Michigan who was 1 of 7 who introduced identical resolutions to create a select committee to investigate the latest acts of Communist aggression in Hungary, will help keep the story of the Hungarian fight for freedom before the people of the world. I also commend the gentleman for his excellent analysis of the political paralysis which now grips the United Nations and prevents enforcement of a resolution passed December 12, 1956, by the General Assembly condemning this Russian aggression against Hungary and calling for the

Red Army to get out of Hungary. I would like to ask the gentleman whether he would agree with me that it is time the United Nations either called upon the Russians to abide by the charter of the United Nations or be expelled from that body.

Mr. BENTLEY. I certainly would agree with the gentleman. It is high time. This is not the first example of Charter violation on the part of the Soviets, and I have long advocated that the United Nations take some action against them. I thank the gentleman and I appreciate his contribution very much.

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. HALE. I want to commend the gentleman for making the very interesting statement which he has made. I think his summary of the facts is most important and most apposite. On Saturday last I placed in the RECORD some data of the International Commission of Jurists from The Hague. I have in my hands here today another statement of theirs dated December 7. It is very interesting on the strictly legal aspects of the matter, and I ask unanimous consent that this matter be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

THE HUNGARIAN SITUATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS OF 1949

The reports from Hungary about mass arrests, summary trial,¹ deportations,² and other measures which are alleged to have infringed the rule of law have attracted worldwide attention.

The present Government of Hungary contends that the national uprising suppressed by Soviet armed forces is an internal affair of Hungary. The Soviet Union holds the same view.

It is, however, to be remembered that there are rules of international law which apply even if the conflict in question is merely a "civil war." These rules are laid down in the Geneva Conventions for the protection of the victims of war,³ concluded in 1949 and

¹ Cf. Decree on criminal procedure of November 10, 1956 (Radio Budapest, November 10, 1956, 14.00 hours, as monitored in BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, pt. II B, No. 777/1956/, pp. 8-9 with text of decree).

² Cf. Report of Radio Budapest, November 14, 1956, 15.00 hours (BBC, The Monitoring Report, No. 5, 200 /November 15, 1956/, p. 1) as well as the case of Imre Nagy and his group. According to several testimonials of Hungarian refugee camps of deportees exist in Soviet Carpatho-Ukraine.

³ Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field (hereafter called "Convention I").

Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick, and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea (hereafter called "Convention II").

Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (hereafter called "Convention III").

Convention for the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (hereafter called "Convention IV").

ratified among others by the Soviet Union⁴ and by the Hungarian People's Republic.⁵

The obligations entered into by the signatories of the convention depend on the character of the conflict, and are more specific if it is an international conflict and less detailed if it is an internal one.

I. OBLIGATIONS IN AN INTERNAL CONFLICT

If it is assumed that the conflict is an internal one, the parties are bound to apply among others the following provisions at least:

Persons taking no active part in the hostilities shall be treated humanely. The following acts in particular are prohibited:

"(a) Violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture.

"(b) Taking of hostages.

"(c) Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment.

"(d) The passing of sentence and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples" (art. 3, convention IV).

During the negotiations the Soviet Union supported a draft approved by the XVIIth International Red Cross Conference at Stockholm in August 1948⁶ which served as a basis for discussion at the Diplomatic Conference in Geneva in 1949. This text reads:

"In all cases of armed conflict not of an international character * * * the parties to the conflict shall be bound to implement the provisions of the present convention [i. e., as a whole, not only art. 3 mentioned above], subject to the adverse party likewise acting in obedience thereto."

When this text met with opposition on the part of a number of Government delegates, the Soviet Union introduced the following version of the provision:

"The parties to the conflict shall be bound to implement the provisions of the present convention which guarantee:

"Humane treatment of the civilian population.

"Prohibition within the territory occupied * * * of reprisals against the civilian population, the taking of hostages, * * * damage to property.

"Prohibition of any discriminatory treatment of the civilian population."⁷

The delegate from Hungary also favored as wide as possible an application of the convention to civil wars:

"The essential aim of the conference was to extend the field of action of the convention as much as possible for the protection of the victims of conflicts."⁸

⁴ The Belorussian and Ukrainian republics are also signatories of the Conventions.

⁵ English text: Final Record of the Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 1949, Berne (hereafter cited Record), vol. I; French text: Actes de la Conférence diplomatique de Genève de 1949, Berne, tome I; Russian text: Zhenevskie konventsi o zashchite zhertv voyny, Izdanie Vedomostel Verhovnogo Soveta SSSR (publication of Gazette of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.), Moscow, 1954, 219 pp.; German text: Bundesgesetzblatt, Bonn, teil II, S. 781 ff; Die Genfer Abkommen zum Schutz der Kriegesopfer vom 12. August 1949, hrsg. vom Deutschen Roten Kreuz, 2. Aufl., Bonn 1953.

⁶ Cf. Record, vol. IIB, pp. 13-14, 34, 37, 42, 44, 47, 76, 93, 325-327.

⁷ Art. 2, par. 4 of the draft. Text: Record, vol. I, p. 113.

⁸ Amendment of the Soviet Union, July 21, 1949 (Record, vol. III, annex no. 15, p. 28). Corresponding amendments for the other conventions.

⁹ Joint committee, first meeting, Apr. 26, 1949. (Record, vol. IIB, p. 11).

II. INTERNAL OR INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT?

The view that events in Hungary represent merely an internal conflict has no basis in international or Hungarian law. It is the considered view of the International Commission of Jurists that the events in Hungary amount to an international conflict with two adverse parties—the Hungarian nation on the one side and the Soviet Union on the other side. The reasons for this view are as follows:

1. The suppression of the national uprising in Hungary constitutes an aggression in the sense of the Soviet definition of aggression proposed to the United Nations in 1953 (cf. the paper Hungary and the Soviet Definition of Aggression, released by the International Commission of Jurists, November 16, 1956).

2. The overthrow of the Nagy government and the setting up of the Kadar regime was effected with the help of Soviet armed forces and constitute an indirect aggression in the sense of the definition just mentioned.

3. The request for military assistance made by the Kadar government was therefore not valid under international law.

4. The request was also invalid in Hungarian constitutional law. The armed attack began before the Kadar regime was in power. Five days later—on November 9—a constitutional amendment was enacted to legalize subsequently the existence and the acts of the Kadar government.¹⁰

5. The request, even if validly made, could have had no legal effect on the application of the convention, since article 47 of convention IV stipulates:

"Protected persons * * * shall not be deprived, in any case or in any manner whatsoever, of the benefits of the present convention * * * by any agreement between the authorities of the occupied territories and the occupying power * * *."

The Soviet and Hungarian Governments are therefore under a legal duty to carry out those obligations which the Geneva conventions provide for cases of an international conflict.

III. OBLIGATIONS IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

The obligations apply to all cases of armed conflict between two or more of the parties as well as "to all cases of partial or total occupation of the territory of a high contracting party, even if the said occupation meets with no armed resistance" (art. 2/2/2/2).¹¹

The obligations of the signatory states in such cases include among others:

A. With respect to all victims of war

The provisions mentioned under this heading "cover the whole of the populations of the countries in conflict, without any adverse distinction based in particular on political opinion, and are intended to alleviate the sufferings caused by the war" (art. 13).¹²

1. Particular protection of the wounded and children (arts. 16-22, 24).

2. Allowing free passage of all consignments of medical and hospital stores and, if intended for children and mothers, also of essential foodstuffs, clothing, and tonics (art. 23).¹³

3. Allowing family correspondence and facilitating inquiries made by members of dispersed families (arts. 25, 26).

B. With respect to civilian persons

The provisions mentioned under this heading cover all persons who are nationals of a

¹⁰ Decree of November 10, 1956. Text broadcast by Radio Budapest, November 9, 1956, 7 p. m. (BBC summary, pt. IIB, No. 777 (1956), p. 7).

¹¹ Article common to all four conventions. ¹² This and the following article refer to convention IV.

¹³ Cf. text proposed by the Soviet Union (Record, vol. III, annex No. 222, p. 114).

state bound by the convention and find themselves in the hands of an occupying power of which they are not nationals. The protection extends to all persons who are not covered by one of the other three conventions (see note 3) (art. 4). The protection lasts for the duration of the occupation (art. 6). If a protected person is suspected or engaged in activities hostile to the security of the occupying power he forfeits certain rights under convention IV, but retains at least the right of fair and regular trial (cf. infra under 10) (art. 5).

4. Human treatment, respect for the person, honor, family rights, religious convictions, customs. Equal treatment, "without any adverse distinction based, in particular, on political opinion" (art. 27).

5. No exercise of physical or moral coercion (art. 31). Prohibition of any measures causing physical suffering or extermination of protected persons, including, e. g., torture, or any other measure of brutality (art. 32).¹⁴

6. Prohibition of collective penalties and all measures of intimidation or terrorism (art. 33).¹⁵ Prohibition of taking hostages (art. 34).

7. Prohibition of "individual or mass forcible transfers,"¹⁶ as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the occupying power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, regardless of their motive" (art. 49, cf. also arts. 52, 76-77).

The phrase "into the territory of the Occupying Power or the territory of any other country" was incorporated on the suggestion of the Soviet Union.¹⁷

8. No sanctions or any measures of coercion against public officials or judges, should they abstain from fulfilling their functions for reasons of conscience (art. 54).

9. Duty to ensure food and medical supplies to the population (art. 55)¹⁸ as well as hospital establishments and services (art. 56). Duty to allow and facilitate relief schemes for the population if inadequately supplied (art. 59-62). Red Cross Societies shall be able to pursue their activities (art. 63).¹⁹

10. Respect for existing criminal legislation (art. 64). Duty not to enact retroactive criminal laws (art. 65). Courts of the Occupying Power shall apply only those provisions of law which are in accordance with general principles of law (art. 67). The penalty shall be in proportion to the offense (art. 67-68). There shall be no prosecution for acts committed or for opinions expressed before the occupation (art. 70). No sentence shall be pronounced by the competent courts of the Occupying Power except after a regular trial (art. 71). An accused person shall have the right of defense (art. 72) and a convicted person the right of appeal (art. 73). They shall be detained and serve their sentences in the occupied territory (art. 76).

C. With respect to prisoners of war

The convention also protects apart from the traditional category of "members of the

¹⁴ Cf. Amendment of the Soviet Union, June 14, 1949 (Record, vol. III, annex No. 231, p. 116), supported by Hungary in the 13th meeting of committee III, June 15, 1949 (Record, vol. IIA, p. 717).

¹⁵ Cf. Text presented by the Soviet Union, June 7, 1949 (Record, vol. III, annex No. 234, p. 117).

¹⁶ The words "individual or mass" are missing from the Russian text, as reproduced in the source quoted supra, note 5. The English and French texts are, however, authentic (art. 55/54/133/150).

¹⁷ Amendment of the Soviet Union, May 12, 1949 (Record, vol. III, annex No. 45, p. 130).

¹⁸ Cf. Amendment of the Soviet Union, June 28, 1949 (Record, vol. III, annex No. 282, p. 136).

¹⁹ Cf. Amendment of the Soviet Union, June 28, 1949, (Record, vol. III, annex No. 292, p. 139).

armed forces of a party" the following persons among others:

(a) Members of organized resistance movements, if they are commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates, if they carry arms openly and respect the laws and customs of war.

(b) Members of regular armed forces who profess allegiance to a government or an authority not recognized by the detaining power.

(c) Inhabitants who on the approach of the enemy spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading forces, if they carry arms openly and respect the laws and customs of war (art. 4 A).²⁰

The convention applies to these persons from the time they fall into the power of the enemy until their final release (art. 5).

The inclusion of the persons mentioned under a-c was considered imperative considering the experience of Nazi occupation of Denmark and other countries which were invaded without resistance on the part of the armed forces. The innovation was supported by the Soviet delegate who declared: "Citizens who took up arms in defense of the liberty of their country should be entitled to the same protection as members of armed forces."²¹

He spoke also in favor of protection of members of resistance movements (partisans).²² The Hungarian delegate supported the Soviet Union in both cases.²³

The individual obligations of the detaining power include among others:

11. Duty to treat prisoners of war humanely (art. 13).²⁴

Respect for their person and honor (art. 14). Equal treatment "without any adverse distinction based on political opinions" (art. 16).

12. Duty to allow prisoners of war to send and receive letters and cards (art. 71).

13. Duty not to bring a prisoner of war before a court unless it offers the essential guaranty of independence and impartiality as generally recognized and in particular, a procedure which affords the accused the rights of defense (arts. 84, 105) and of appeal (art. 106).

14. No prisoner of war may be tried or sentenced for an act which is not forbidden by the law of the detaining power or by international law, in force at the time the said act was committed. No moral or physical coercion may be exerted on a prisoner of war in order to induce him to admit his guilt. No prisoner of war may be convicted without having had an opportunity to present his defense and the assistance of a qualified advocate or counsel (art. 99).

15. Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities (art. 118).

D. Provisions for enforcing these obligations

The following provisions are incorporated into all four Geneva Conventions in order to assure their strict performance.

1. The parties undertake to respect and to insure respect for the present convention in all circumstances (art. 1/1/1/1).²⁵

2. The protected persons may in no circumstances renounce in part or in entirety the rights secured to them by the present convention (art. 7/7/7/8).

3. The convention shall be applied with the cooperation and under the scrutiny of the protecting powers (art. 8/8/8/9). The

parties may agree to entrust to an impartial organization the duties incumbent on the protecting powers (art. 10/10/10/11).²⁶

4. The parties undertake to enact any legislation necessary to provide effective penal sanctions for persons committing or ordering to be committed, any grave breaches of the conventions (art. 49/50/129/146 and art. 50/51/130/147).²⁷

The Hungarian delegate stated that the Hungarian military penal code, in force since February 1, 1949, stipulates severe penalties for violations of the convention.²⁸

5. An inquiry shall be instituted concerning any alleged violation of the convention (art. 52/53/132/149).

IV

In publishing this paper the International Commission of Jurists hopes to act in the interests of the signatories of the Geneva Conventions, including the Soviet Union and Hungary, since articles 47/48/127/144 of the conventions provide:

"The high contracting parties undertake * * * to disseminate the text of the present convention as widely as possible in their respective countries, * * * so that the principles thereof may become known to the entire population."

December 7, 1956, International Commission of Jurists, Buitenhof 47, The Hague.

Mr. HALE. I hope very much that we shall succeed in keeping this whole matter in the forefront of public attention in such a way that this country can act as effectively as may be for these oppressed people.

Mr. BENTLEY. I might say to the gentleman from Maine I was very interested in reading the article which he inserted in the Appendix of the daily Record last Saturday.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to congratulate the distinguished gentleman from Michigan for the great contribution he is making on an important matter about which so little is known. It is particularly important for the American people, and all the people for that matter, to remember that there were two phases of this upheaval that occurred in Hungary: First, when the Hungarians overthrew the Communist Hungarian Government and, second, when Russia invaded Hungary. The fact that the gentleman has so well pointed out the phases of this matter is certainly a great contribution.

Mr. BENTLEY. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania. I certainly hope that someday in the near future he will give the Congress the benefit of his observations and experiences while he was recently on the Austrian border so close to Hungary. I am sure the House would be interested in hearing it.

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

²⁰ This and the following articles refer to convention III.

²¹ Committee II, fifth meeting, May 16, 1949 (Record, vol. II A, p. 426).

²² Loc. cit., p. 429.

²³ Source as in notes 21 and 22.

²⁴ Cf. Amendment of the Soviet Union, May 4, 1949 (Record, vol. III, annex No. 99, p. 64).

²⁵ This and the following articles are common to all four conventions.

²⁶ Cf. an amendment by the Soviet Union, July 20, 1949 (Record, vol. III, annex 26, p. 34) and the reservation of the Soviet Union and Hungary to art. 10/10/10/11.

²⁷ Cf. Amendments of the Soviet Union of July 20 and 21, 1949 (Record, vol. III, annex No. 53 and 53 A, pp. 44).

²⁸ Record, vol. II B, p. 32.

Mr. HILLINGS. I join with the distinguished gentleman from Michigan in raising this discussion today. I think it would be well to point out that he has been one of those who for many years has maintained, contrary to the belief of some persons in high places in Government, that it would be possible for the people behind the Iron Curtain to throw off the yoke of Communist slavery. There were those, such as Mr. George Kennan and others who held high positions in the Department of State who have consistently maintained that we might as well recognize the fact that certain areas of the world belonged to the Communists. The gentleman from Michigan and others have maintained the reverse; that it was still possible behind the Iron Curtain to be free and be independent.

Is it not true that the significant point in the Hungarian revolution is the fact that it was led by two categories of people which were supposedly completely indoctrinated by the Communists? No. 1, the young people and, No. 2, the workers. They led the revolution. It was said that they could do nothing about the situation, but, the Hungarians have shown the whole world that young people and workers in Communist areas, despite many years of indoctrination, are not necessarily convinced. Is it not true also that we should keep the lesson of Hungary in mind when we talk about China and when we talk about many other countries, because the same thing that happened in Hungary could happen elsewhere. I might add the hope that the gentleman's remarks and the remarks of my colleagues here today will be listened to and read by some of the leaders in our Government and will help to make our foreign policy, because if the day ever comes when our leaders in Government say that we should write off certain areas to the Communists, we will be making one of the most tragic mistakes in history.

Mr. BENTLEY. I appreciate the gentleman's contribution and I thank him very much.

Mr. Speaker, it is about time that we started to face facts. The moral strength of the free world is a powerful force when used against a government which is responsive to the will of its own people. But when it is faced with a government completely devoid of all standards of international morality, a government which cares little or nothing for popular feeling, a government such as the Soviet Union, it is a very different matter indeed. If the U. N. is to survive in this world as a force for international peace and justice, it is going to have to learn to deal with aggressors to whom nothing is sacred and who are deaf to resolutions and expressions, however genuinely uttered. The Soviets do not acknowledge the will of the majority in their own country, why should we expect them to acknowledge it within our international forum.

Mr. Speaker, it may be that there is little in the way of concrete, positive action that we as a Nation can take at this time in honor of the brave and courageous people of Hungary, either within or without the United Nations. But cer-

tainly we can all unite in paying tribute to these brave men, women, and children of Hungary who showed the world not only an example of the highest form of courage but also that there are still things in this world worth fighting and dying for. Surfeited with 11 years of tyranny and oppression, they rose up against their masters and, while the world waited breathlessly, seemed miraculously to have won for a few short days. Then the black shadow of totalitarian despotism again set in. They believed in the prospects of help from the free world, from the major western powers, from the U. N. itself. They were justified in their belief, for were they not fighting the battles of the free world, were they not defending the cause of liberty and independence against tyranny and slavery? And is that not our own cause and the cause of free men and free nations everywhere? Bitter must have been their realization and boundless must have been their despair when they finally learned that there was to be no help, no hope, and they had been left to wage a hopelessly unequal battle alone.

Some will say that this was merely another milestone on the road to liberation by peaceful means. Others will say and have said that any further intervention on our part would have risked world war III, that it would only have brought further bloodshed, misery, suffering, and destruction to unhappy Hungary. No one now can tell what would have happened if we had acted differently. The only thing that can be said with certainty is that a brave little people rose up and fought for their freedom against the mightiest tyrant of modern times, a brave little people who asked the free world for help to enable them to carry on their own fight. A brave little people who failed to receive that help and who were mercilessly drowned in a sea of their own blood. That much is history.

The very day of the Soviet invasion, Sunday, November 4, I had the honor to address a large joint Hungarian-Polish rally in the city of Detroit, even as early reports of the Communist treachery and massacre were being received. At that time I said that we were standing at the crossroads and that if this opportunity were missed, we might not have another. I said at that time that our action in the next few days might determine not only our own fate but the fate of the entire free world for years to come.

Maybe I was wrong. Maybe a final opportunity has not been missed. Maybe a divine providence will still grant us another opportunity as a people to prove our own devotion to the cause of freedom and justice for all men in all parts of the world. Maybe this Congress can win immortal glory for itself by taking action that will bring freedom to those who so richly deserve it. Our Government appears to be at a loss to know what to do next, it feels that any further assistance would run the risk of another world war. May be it is up to us as representatives of the American people to resolve on and adopt a course of action that will rekindle a flame of hope

in the hearts of those who have now lost all hope.

In conclusion, I would like to say this. I am still firmly convinced that one day the Hungarian people will be free along with the other enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain. Their sufferings and sacrifices of recent weeks has revealed a great victory for the cause of freedom everywhere throughout the world. It has shown the Soviets that not only the satellite troops but even, in some instances, their own soldiers, are hardly to be trusted for the purposes of military aggression. It has shown the internal weaknesses of the Soviet Government more clearly than any other single event of the last decade. It has shown that the spirit of freedom cannot be crushed among those who have once enjoyed it, it has clearly demonstrated that even half a generation of intensive Sovietization was insufficient to win the allegiance of young people who had never known anything else. But these victories must be exploited and not accepted passively by the leaders of the free world and especially of our own Government.

I say that recent events have strengthened my conviction that Hungary will again be free along with the other Moscow-dominated peoples. But it still remains for us as leaders of the free world to do even more than we have already done to help keep this spark of freedom alive. I would not wish to see this Government or the United Nations render any form of assistance that would strengthen the control of the present Communist puppet regime in Hungary, or elsewhere. If assistance is to be forthcoming there must be no doubt in the minds of everyone that it is received by the Hungarian people themselves.

The Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, has assured the Soviet Government on many occasions that we only want to see the Eastern European countries in the hands of governments which are friendly to the Soviet Union, that we have no thought of using those countries as bases for military action against Russia. The Hungarian people themselves declared their desire for neutrality at the start of their fight for freedom. But in view of the record of Soviet treachery and brutality which ensued, can one imagine the Hungarian people having friendly feelings for the present Soviet regime for years to come? And are we therefore going to abandon the cause of freedom in Hungary merely because it is at present an anti-Soviet cause for which so much justification has been presented.

Some will say that it should be left to the United Nations. But, in his address on Saturday, President Eisenhower referred to the inability of the United Nations to be effective in the case of Hungary. He said, and I quote:

The United Nations therefore can always be helpful, but it cannot be a wholly dependable protector of freedom when the ambitions of the Soviet Union are involved.

I certainly agree that not only can we not depend on the United Nations to protect the cause of Hungarian freedom but we must frankly admit that its efforts have been a complete failure. I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that the Members have seen

the newspaper story from Budapest on the front page of today's papers, a story whose lead paragraph reads:

Premier Janos Kadar's regime today crushed the last hope for political freedom in Hungary in announcing an old-style Communist dictatorship of the proletariat.

Even as we are speaking here, Russian tanks in Budapest are drawn up before the secret police building. The Hungarian puppet government has announced a return to a system of political control that is even tighter than the system before the revolution took place last October. The Hungarian people are worse off today than they were before the revolution started, even in spite of the fact that the United Nations has attempted to take certain action in this respect.

And yet this same puppet regime is requesting the United Nations and "Western Nations" for financial and economic assistance to strengthen its control over the Hungarian people. I think it is obvious to everyone that when Hungary finally achieves its freedom, it will either be through the unsupported efforts of the Hungarian people themselves or through positive support given by nations such as our own.

Many ardent supporters of peaceful liberation seem to believe that the Hungarians were wrong to stage a violent uprising; that they should follow the line of peaceful evolution as the Poles are now attempting to do. I will admit that such an approach might have been the more practical one. On the other hand, we certainly cannot condemn the brave Hungarians for their uprising against tyranny and fighting for freedom. I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that the House will recall these noble words: "Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security." The question now, Mr. Speaker, is whether this Government is prepared to support such action on the part of others.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. MADDEN. I wish to commend the gentleman for the outstanding statement he has brought to the attention of the Members of the House regarding the Hungarian situation. I endorse the thoughts and comments set out in his statement. May I add that the gentleman from Michigan was a very diligent and hard working member of the special committee in the 83d Congress investigating Communist aggression.

I served as a member of that committee. We held hearings in this country and abroad. Over 200 witnesses testified before that committee investigating

Communist aggression. Some of these witnesses were leaders of former free countries which are now Communist captive countries. Others were leaders of religion, professions, business, and labor. This committee assimilated an avalanche of testimony exposing the criminality, physical tortures, and tyrannical inflictions which the Soviet leaders perpetrated on the captive countries, including Hungary. When the work of that committee was completed, the gentleman from Michigan, including myself and other members of the committee, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN], the gentleman from California [Mr. HILLINGS], and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD], the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MACHROWICZ], and others, submitted a resolution to the House asking that this testimony and our recommendations be sent to the United Nations. I firmly believe that had the Congress 2 years ago sent our findings, recommendations, and testimony to the United Nations for consideration before the General Assembly the facts and revelations would have alarmed the world. Now we find that practically a repetition of the tyrannical atrocities took place in Hungary during the last couple of months that our committee revealed took place in Hungary and other captive countries 12 to 15 years ago. In fact, the reason, the unfortunate reason, that the testimony and records and recommendations of our committee were not sent to the United Nations was that the Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, asked that our resolution be not acted on pending the meeting to be held at the summit in Geneva. I happened to be chairman of the Katyn Forest Massacre Committee in the previous Congress, and we had an avalanche of revealing testimony of the same atrocities committed against the Poles. This was revealed in the 82d Congress. Four years ago, as chairman of the Katyn Committee, I filed a similar resolution, asking that our findings be sent to the United Nations. Secretary of State Dulles asked that the Katyn resolution not be acted upon because of the pending negotiations on the armistice that were then taking place in Korea. I heard the President when he addressed the Congress here last Saturday. I will quote his words taken from his speech. He said:

International communism, of course, seeks to mask its purposes of domination by expressions of good will and by superficially attractive offers of political, economic, and military aid. But any free nation, which is the subject of Soviet enticement, ought, in elementary wisdom, to look behind the mask. Remember Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

The President could have added Poland and Hungary and other captive nations to those three nations. I firmly believe that had the findings of the committee investigating Communist aggression, of which the gentleman from Michigan was a member, been sent to the United Nations and had the findings and recommendations of the Katyn Committee of the 82d Congress been forwarded to the United Nations, I firmly believe that the result of laying before the United Nations and laying before the

people of the world what happened at Katyn, and the revelations of the committee in the 84th Congress, would have contributed a great deal possibly toward averting what occurred in Hungary during the last few months.

Our greatest weapon against the Communists is to inform the people of the world the truth about the Communist conspiracy.

Two congressional committees have recorded sworn testimony of hundreds of witnesses who testified how the Soviet leaders succeeded in placing 800 million humans in slavery during the last 25 years.

The Geneva Conference proved to be a great mistake. The leaders of two great world democracies flew to Geneva to break bread and sit in conference with two world criminals.

Immediately the two Soviet leaders launched a propaganda trip through the Middle East to advertise their new prestige and lay the foundation for most of our present Middle East troubles.

The recommendations and comments of Mr. BENTLEY on the floor this afternoon are indeed practical and should be given serious consideration by the President and Secretary Dulles.

Mr. BENTLEY. I want to thank my friend from Indiana for his contribution. I certainly agree with him in regard to the findings of those committees. I want to say to the House that the gentleman from Indiana has distinguished himself in the last several years in Congress by taking the lead in the effort to inform the American people of the true nature of communism.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I have but 3½ minutes left and have not completed my statement.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that upon the termination of the special order of the gentleman from Michigan, that I be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. BENTLEY. I would like, if I may, at this time to ask consent that all Members may have the privilege of extending their remarks on this subject, this to include the requests that have already been made to do so.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. BENTLEY. I now yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING].

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from Michigan for focusing our attention on this important problem. This is, as has been said, indeed a real contribution to our thinking.

Mr. Speaker, the whole free world—indeed, all people of the world who knew of the events have been stunned and shocked at recent events in Hungary. The bravery of the people of Hungary who rose up against their Communist oppressors is perhaps unequalled in modern history. That these people, subjected to Communist terror and continually ground under the heel of tyrannical masters, should have the courage to fight tanks literally with their bare hands, knowing full well the futility of their cause, is something for all who love freedom to ponder long and well.

We cannot, of course, measure at this time the full effects of the uprising in Hungary. That is something which only time and the march of history will be able to record conclusively. However, we can at this time begin to judge some of the more immediate repercussions of events in Hungary.

Certainly we have overwhelming evidence from all sides that the bloody stamping out of Hungarian resistance has met with the condemnation of all the civilized world with the exception of those satellite nations so closely bound to Russia that they dare not speak their minds.

Among Communists all over the world the horrible aftereffects of the Hungarian uprising have opened the eyes of even the strongest zealots of the Communist line to the real meaning and methods of modern communism. In the ranks of the intellectuals of France, for instance, there are marked signs of disaffection with the men and operations of the Kremlin.

The effect on the neutral powers of the world has been perhaps more significant. Even among these people, who pride themselves on staying aloof from the entanglements of clashing ideologies and have more often than not sided with the Communist line, there have been encouraging signs of awakening to the true colors of the Russian bear.

This was evident at the Interparliamentary Union Conference in Bangkok in November, which I attended, where such neutral powers as India emphatically condemned Russian tactics in Hungary. It was clear from the sentiments expressed by nation after nation at the Interparliamentary Union Conference that the Russians have been set back drastically in their efforts to gain further allies and footholds in the Far East.

But in our interest in the ways in which Communist suppression tactics in Hungary have lost them supporters all over the world, we cannot for a moment forget those courageous people who first ignited this latest spark of anti-Communist sentiment. As our hearts go out to them in this hour of darkness, we all hope and pray that the day will not be too long delayed until they join us in the sunlight of freedom.

We cannot give tangible aid to those tragic victims of tyranny who are still

behind the Iron Curtain. We who are free and secure in our freedom and strength should not, however, remain silent in the face of such brutal suppression.

Aside from the help we can give to the victims who escape, we as members of the legislative arm of the strongest of the free nations of the world, can and should express our repugnance and indignation over the recent brutalities the Communist conspiracy has wreaked in Hungary.

I am therefore introducing today a concurrent resolution designed to express our condemnation and revulsion that a member of the United Nations should resort to such tactics. Since the ruthless suppression of the Hungarian people is clearly in violation of the charter of the United Nations, this resolution calls upon the United States to continue to press for an investigation of the issues as to such violations by the United Nations, or by such other means as may be most appropriate.

It is my hope that Congress will pass this resolution unanimously, to demonstrate to the whole world that these hapless victims of Communist oppression are not forgotten, but that we are conscious of the bestial acts of the Soviet overlords which some day will bring their day of retribution.

There is immediate and effective action which can be taken by the United States to help those who have left the tragic inferno that is Hungary today. This is by means of enacting legislation to facilitate the flow of Hungarian refugees into this country.

I have been conferring with various representatives of pertinent government agencies on this subject, and it is my intention, when the administration's ideas have been developed in concise form, to introduce a bill aiding the flow of Hungarian refugees to our land.

By this decisive and affirmative action, Congress can express the sentiment of the whole Nation. By our action, the United States can once again stand before the world as Emma Lazarus depicted us in her poem on the base of the Statue of Liberty, offering a haven to "our huddled masses yearning to be free."

Mr. BENTLEY. I thank the gentleman from New York who made a very fine speech. I may say that I will be looking with great interest to receiving his resolution before our Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman from Michigan has made a remarkable speech. I believe, however, that I should rise at this time to pay tribute to President Eisenhower and other officials of our Government for the remarkable job that has been done at Camp Kilmer now Camp Mercy, N. J., in receiving and caring for the Hungarian refugees. I can speak with authority because I have visited that camp three times in recent weeks. While the Soviet Government has been writing in Hungary a story of tyranny,

hatred, and oppression, our country at Camp Mercy, N. J., has been writing a story of love, compassion, and mercy.

The United States Army under the able leadership of Brig. Gen. Sidney C. Wooten, is caring for the refugees today. At the very outset he and his aides combed the armed facilities of the United States in order to obtain for Camp Mercy men of Hungarian extraction who could act as interpreters and who could be helpful to the newcomers.

These refugees are fed well, they are cared for well in every particular. I have spoken with many of them. Most of them are teen-agers and I can add they are young men and young women of character. We should be glad to see them coming to our country. I spoke with a young woman, 23 years of age, who was a machine gunner in the Freedom Forces. She had accounted for some seven or eight Soviet soldiers. She knew that to be true, but at the same time she had been wounded in the body with eight Soviet bullets. She is expected to recover and resume her way in our beloved America. I saw and chatted with 15-year-olds who climbed on and hacked away at Soviet tanks with hammers. May I say to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan that I found those people most appreciative of the reception accorded them, and they are so happy that they are on freedom's shore.

I do not think the gentleman from Michigan would want the Record to fail to show that our Government has gone all out in caring for these refugees.

Mr. BENTLEY. I certainly appreciate the remarks of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CANFIELD]. Personally, I want to commend the wonderful job done by the members of our own armed services in getting these people over here as expeditiously as they have. A marvelous job has been done. I do not quarrel with that at all. It is only with respect to other things that I referred to that more has not been done.

Would the gentleman permit me to read this one paragraph, and then I will have finished.

Two days ago we listened to our great President request authority that would enable him to guarantee our protection to the peoples of the Middle East. Surely, the peoples now under Communist slavery as richly and fully deserve our protection as any others. Surely, we will not say that some men will be free and others must be slaves merely because their homeland lies in a different part of the world. If we are willing to defend freedom and independence in one part of the world, we should be willing to defend it everywhere. Let us meet this challenge as leaders of free men, let us show the noble freedom fighters of Hungary that their honored dead shall not have died in vain, and let us so conduct ourselves that liberty and justice, under God, shall continue to be the inalienable right of all men in all parts of this earth.

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield.

Mr. WILSON of California. I want to join my colleagues in complimenting the gentleman from Michigan on the very

strong, forthright statement he has made about the situation in Hungary. Once again our colleague's service in the Foreign Service stands him in good stead to tell us in the House what the situation is among the people he has worked with.

I had the privilege in the last month to join with the Vice President on a tour of Austria and Hungary up to the Hungarian border. I hope to be able to express myself at greater length when we go into debate on the situation when the immigration law is brought up for discussion on the floor.

I would like to say that the gentleman has mentioned the fact that the people in Hungary have suffered grievously and are probably worse off than they were before the revolt. There is no question in my mind that international communism has suffered and is much worse off now than before the revolt came about. I hope we will not let the people of the world, and those in other countries who are resisting international communism, believe we have let the people of Hungary down.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield.

Mr. BURDICK. I want to ask the gentleman one question. I am in full accord with the statement made by the gentleman from Indiana about these reports. They were held up from the United Nations on account of the recommendations of the Secretary of State. Are those reports still in existence?

Mr. BENTLEY. Oh, yes. They were printed and distributed by our committee. We have many copies still available, but they were not transmitted officially to the United Nations, as I understand it.

Mr. BURDICK. Officially or otherwise, the United Nations should have them.

Mr. BENTLEY. I agree with that.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, generally, as I understand it, the President wants Congress to declare a policy which this Government will follow in regard to aggressions against countries in the Middle East.

In wording that policy, the President wants authority from Congress to enable him to send troops at the request of the United Nations, and thereby resist such aggression by force. I am entirely favorable to stopping aggression, but I fear this request is unconstitutional. Under the President's plan and the authority now asked of Congress, a real war could start any time we met aggression by force, and thus a war would be begun without any further declaration from Congress.

The Constitution provides that Congress, and Congress alone, has the power to declare war. Can Congress delegate this power to the President or anybody else? We might find ourselves engaged in a war of any size, without Congress doing any more than it will be asked to do now, when there is no war in sight.

The authority the President asks is the power to wage war if necessary. Hence, the result is that Congress is exercising its power to declare war by delegating that power to the President, and I fear this is contrary to the Constitution. As I see it, Congress cannot delegate this power.

It might be that in the event of a move to stop aggression I would be in favor of it, but if a war broke out, I would have no voice in the matter, as that power I would have already voted away in voting for the power and authority the President now asks.

Very much the same power as the President now requests is contained in the NATO agreement. There we are obligated to enter into a hot war whenever any one of the signatories to the NATO agreement or pact is attacked. Congress will have nothing to do about that, as it lost its authority by the Government's agreeing to the pact. If the Russians attacked West Germany tomorrow we would be in a hot war without any declaration from Congress. Inasmuch as I have always maintained we had no constitutional right to make such an agreement, as it takes away from Congress the power to declare war, the present request is similar. I can see no difference between the NATO pact and what the President now proposes. Under the express terms of the Constitution Congress should not surrender this power to declare war.

The President could well define his foreign policy under the power he now already has, and I am sure the country would approve it, but we should not go so far as to permit a war to be started without having Congress pass directly on the subject at the time the occasion arose. The President might feel that a war should be started, while Congress at the time might differ. I believe this President would handle the matter to the satisfaction of the American people without any further action by the Congress. But we might sometime have a President who is not so well versed on foreign affairs. We had better stay with the Constitution. It wouldn't take the President 3 hours to get a declaration of war any time the facts warranted it, as was demonstrated in the declaration of war against Germany and Japan.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to join with my colleagues in commending the gentleman from Michigan for the valuable and splendid contribution he has made. He is so well informed on the subject that I would like to ask him a question which perhaps he can answer. During the past week I received a letter from one of our colleagues in the House asking that I join in a petition to the President of the United States asking that this country withdraw its recognition from the puppet government of Hungary. I am wondering whether he has any thoughts on the matter.

Mr. BENTLEY. I may say that I signed the petition of the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. PATTERSON] but I

made one reservation with respect to the withdrawal, that some provision has to be made with respect to Cardinal Mindszenty, who is a refugee in our Budapest Legation, before we talk about breaking off diplomatic relations.

Mr. SCHERER. May I make this observation? I am wondering if the Members of this House, in considering the withdrawal petition to the President to withdraw recognition of the puppet government of Hungary, should not go to the real cause, the heart of the problem, and hit the real culprit, namely, that a petition be directed to the President of the United States asking for the withdrawal of recognition of Soviet Russia.

Mr. BENTLEY. I may say to the gentleman if such a petition is circulated, I would be among the first to sign it.

Mr. SCHERER. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the gentleman from Michigan for the excellent statement he has made concerning the Hungarian revolution.

I am in accord with his views, which are based upon his intimate knowledge of the Hungarian people and also indicates a great deal of research and knowledge of foreign affairs as they relate to the Soviet Union.

The great courage and heroism of the Hungarian people in their struggle against the armed might of the Kremlin with their bare hands and at great loss of lives and property is one of the most amazing efforts of any nation in world history for freedom and liberty. The Hungarian people have not only shown the way, at great loss, to the other satellite states but have shown the world the great stamina and determination they have to liberate themselves from Russian control.

The Hungarian revolution is the greatest example of a Christian uprising against atheistic communism and should give heart and hope to all Christian nations that have been suppressed by Russia.

I am happy to associate myself with Mr. BENTLEY in his recommendation and urge that all possible help be given to the people of Hungary to encourage them in their valiant fight for freedom.

I have also signed a petition urging the President to withdraw recognition of the present puppet government in Hungary, which was also signed by many other Members of Congress. The petition reads as follows:

We, the undersigned Members of the Congress, irrespective of political party affiliation, but being entirely cognizant of the savage and reprehensible conduct of the Soviet Union in its current massacre of innocent, helpless, and freedom-seeking peoples of the nation of Hungary, do hereby petition the President of the United States to act as follows:

1. We strongly urge you, Mr. President, to completely withdraw recognition, in the

name of the people of the United States of America, of the puppet government of Hungary that is now headed by Janos Kadar and imposed upon the people of Hungary by the Soviet Union. Moreover, we urge you to refuse recognition of any Soviet-imposed puppet government of Hungary that might succeed the Kadar government.

2. We suggest, Mr. President, in view of the continued warfare in Hungary, that you explore through appropriate channels, the feasibility of intervention in Hungary by a police force comprised of representatives of various members of the United Nations.

GORDON L. McDONOUGH,
15th District of California.

It is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that the great and powerful United States will render every assistance to the valiant patriots of Hungary who since the days of their great leader and advocate of freedom and liberty, Kossuth, have kept alive the spark of democracy in Europe which flowed into bloody revolution against the arrogant and heartless Russian occupation of their native land.

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment my colleague, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BENTLEY], for securing this time to discuss the gallantry of the Hungarian fight for freedom.

It is shocking to find the administration so unprepared and without plans to assist people of a nation in obtaining their God-given rights.

We on the Foreign Affairs Committee are now holding hearings on a resolution "to authorize the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the general area of the Middle East in order to assist in the strengthening and defense of their independence."

Is this consistent with the lack of action in Eastern Europe? I agree with Mr. BENTLEY's statement in reference to our fight for Independence—that "it is truly fortunate that the help we received at that time from France and other countries was not confined to relief packages and resolutions condemning George III."

I insert at this point an article from America magazine of November 17:

HUNGARY: STORY OF HEROISM AND PERFDY

We have no words to describe the courage and agony of the Hungarian people. We have no words to describe the bestial cruelty of their Soviet oppressors. So long as the light of freedom burns anywhere, the gallant rising of the Hungarians against the soul-destroying rule of communism will thrill human hearts. So long as the light of freedom burns, the brutal perfidy of Soviet Russia will be remembered with unspeakable loathing and disgust. To such depths of barbarism can man made in God's own image fall. To such heights of heroism can he soar.

Though we lack the words, the story of the Hungarian tragedy must nevertheless be told. In stark outline, this is what history will record.

On the night of October 29, with the 7-day-old rebellion against Communist domination still unappeased, the desperate Titoist Premier, Imre Nagy, announced that he was demanding forthwith the withdrawal of Russian troops from Budapest. The next afternoon Soviet tanks began moving out of the battered city. In Moscow Marshal Georgi Zhukov told a press conference that Russia was prepared to discuss a revision of the Warsaw pact. An official Soviet Gov-

ernment statement quickly confirmed this. It said:

"The Soviet Union is ready to examine with the other Socialist states which are participants in the Warsaw treaty the question of the Soviet troops stationed in the * * * Hungarian and Rumanian Republics [and] in the Polish Republic."

To this statement the embattled Hungarians reacted with unrestrained joy. In Washington President Eisenhower expressed the cautions hope that if the Soviet Union meant what it said, the world might witness "the greatest forward stride toward justice, trust, and understanding among nations in our generation."

That was the high tide of the Hungarian revolt. The Nagy government had by this time been broadened to include non-Communist parties. Cardinal Mindszenty, symbol of Hungarian independence, was safely back in Budapest. Town after town was in the hands of the rebels. Free elections were on the way.

Then on Thursday morning, October 31, the Soviet tanks headed back for Budapest. Premier Nagy immediately protested to the Soviet Ambassador. He did more: he repudiated the Warsaw pact, announced Hungarian neutrality and appealed to the United Nations. He wrote to the U. N. Secretary General:

"I request Your Excellency promptly to put on the agenda of the General Assembly the question of Hungary's neutrality and defense of this neutrality by the four great powers."

Friday a heavily reinforced Red Army was fanning out in all directions. It seized airfields, occupied all important rail junctions, blocked the main highways. When Nagy again protested to the Soviet Ambassador, he was solemnly assured that "no additional Soviet military formation had been introduced into Hungary." The Ambassador blandly explained that the planes and tanks at the Budapest airport were there solely to remove Russian civilians and wounded soldiers.

In New York, where the Security Council was considering the Hungarian appeal, Arkady A. Sobolev, the Soviet representative, dutifully discharged his ignoble role in the elaborate deception. He affirmed that reports of Soviet tanks moving back into Hungary were "utterly unfounded."

For a few more hours the perfidious Russian Communists carried on their drama of deceit. In Budapest the Soviet Ambassador talked soothingly to Nagy about a regroupment of troops. At a secret rendezvous a joint Russian-Hungarian military committee ostensibly worked on plans for the orderly withdrawal of Soviet troops. Saturday afternoon a member of the new Hungarian Cabinet, fooled by this elaborate Soviet duplicity, told reporters that the situation looked hopeful.

Then at dawn on Sunday the Russians struck. They struck with 8 divisions—7 of them armored—and fleets of bombers. In a broadcast from Budapest Premier Nagy announced that Soviet troops had attacked "with the clear intention to overthrow the lawful, democratic Government of the Hungarian people." Within a few hours most of the Nagy Cabinet were prisoners. Cardinal Mindszenty was reported safe in the United States legation. One by one the Hungarian radio stations went silent. In Vienna, toward the middle of the afternoon, listeners heard this heartbreaking message:

"Civilized people of the world: on the watchtower of 1,000-year-old Hungary the last flames begin to go out. The Soviet Army is attempting to crush our troubled hearts. Their tanks and guns are roaring over Hungarian soil.

"People of Europe, civilized people of the world, in the name of liberty and solidarity, we are asking you to help * * * Listen to

our cry. Start moving. Extend to us brotherly hands."

Under the circumstances no brotherly hand could be extended. To have answered the Hungarian appeal with armed legions of free men would have precipitated world war III. President Eisenhower appealed to Moscow to withdraw its troops. The U. N. General Assembly condemned the Soviet Union. The Holy Father warned the Communists that "the just freedom of peoples can never be drowned in blood."

None of these appeals was, of course, effective. With a sickening crash the Iron Curtain dropped again along the Austro-Hungarian frontier. Save for a single clandestine radio station, which reported still unconquered pockets of resistance, the only voice that sounded from the Hungarian watchtower was the alien voice of the conqueror. It announced the formation of a new Government of "peasants and workers" headed by the Titoist Janos Kadar. Fittingly, the free world learned of the new program from Radio Moscow.

And in another editorial of the same magazine, *America*, of November 10, article entitled "Hungary: Graveyard of Red Myths," was stated:

We know now—

That communism, in Hungary and elsewhere, survives only with the help of a foreign army;

That the Soviet army's role is to protect the regime from its own people;

That the youth and the intelligentsia are today the most dangerous anti-Red forces;

That the years of absolute control over the economic life of a Communist country have produced such misery and discontent that a small spark is sufficient to touch off a gigantic conflagration all over the country;

That the armies of the satellite regimes are absolutely unreliable, not only for the U. S. S. R. but for their own governments as well;

That in a free election communism would be swept away.

Since we are speaking of Red-sponsored myths that have crumbled in the ruins of Budapest and a dozen other centers in Hungary, we may allude to some of our own clichés that need revision. These include the idea that revolution is impossible in a Red-run country and that liberation can come only from the outside. We have underestimated the desire for freedom among the youth in Communist lands. We have apparently underrated the power of the church and the family and of decency in general, at the same time that we were overimpressed by the staying power of oppression based on fear and terror.

Honesty should also compel us to admit that the Hungarian people did what they did on their own, without any help, or hope of help, from the United States or the United Nations. We have been too prone to give up on a people who, like the Hungarians, for a thousand years have kept guard on the frontiers of the civilization we call Christian. From Stettin to Trieste the Iron Curtain is shaken. The heroic peoples of Eastern Europe, too long separated from the community to which they belong, are forcing up that barrier by the strength of their own moral courage.

It is significant that the leader of Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito, to whom the United States and the West have given so much military and economic aid, showed his true colors by publicly assessing the suppression of the Hungarian revolt by the U. S. S. R. as completely justified.

THE HUNGARIAN SITUATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK], is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I am glad that I was on the floor today to listen to the speech made by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BENTLEY], which I consider to be a courageous one, a timely one, and a marked contribution to the affirmative deliberations of this body. I have discussed this subject in the past before the Congress met. We now have at least 10 weeks gone by with only expressions of sympathy for the people of Hungary. While sympathy is all right when one is dead and you express it to the bereaved relatives, it does not lend much hope to the living who are fighting and dying for liberty. As I followed the newspaper reports in connection with Hungary, my mind went back in history to those days which constituted the inception of our own Government, and to me the saying of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death," became something living, and in Hungary with its thousands, yes, millions of people, a little nation of about 9 million, whether they realized it or not in their conscious minds, were imbued with that desire under law and under God, and that is nothing more or less, when they are willing to give their lives, than to "give me liberty or give me death." Like the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BENTLEY] and my other colleagues and countless millions of others, I have been concerned and I have asked myself the question "What can we do? What can my Government do?" On November 25 in Boston I made a speech and I reduced it to writing. I shall later incorporate it in the RECORD. I very seldom reduce my remarks to writing; I usually speak from notes, but on this occasion I reduced my entire remarks to writing in which I discussed the Middle East situation and also the Hungarian situation. At that time I suggested one of two alternatives for the United Nations to take. This was after the resolution had been adopted by the United Nations: First, send observers over to the border of Hungary. That is a concrete act, an overt act. Or better still, second, have the observers fly into Budapest in a United Nations marked plane. It would take a little courage, but this is a time when courage is necessary. When they arrived there, they would either have to let them stay there, which would be a victory, or they would have to expel them, which would also be a victory in connection, at least, with worldwide public opinion.

I might say that a few weeks prior to that there was a conference at the White House at which my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN] and others were present. I asked the question, "Are we going to recognize the Kadar government in Hungary that the gang in the Soviet Union have put in there, it being a nonlegitimate government?" As far back as that, 8 weeks ago, I raised that question. That was also incorporated in the speech that I made in Boston on November 25.

In consequence of some questions that I asked on that occasion, one of the high career officials of the State Department called me up that afternoon, saying he wanted to see me. I was always glad to see him, of course, but on this occasion particularly to get some information I had asked of Under Secretary Hoover about the status of Cardinal Mindszenty.

He came up to see me. We discussed the question. I talked about the observers; why not send them to the border. I did not have in mind at that time the other suggestion of flying them in on a marked United Nations plane. I did not think the Communists would dare to shoot that plane down. At that time they were not letting the Red Cross in with medicines and food. I made the suggestion about the observers going to the border and also I said, "Why do not the Red Cross trucks move up to the border of Hungary and say, 'We want to go in to bring relief to these unfortunate people,' and then have them refuse the Red Cross?"

World-wide public opinion would be aroused and while we are dealing here with a Communist dictatorship, some recognition sometimes must be given even by the Kremlin to world public opinion.

Within 24 hours that was done. I do not know whether my suggestion contributed to it or not. I do not want to claim credit for it. But within 24 hours the trucks went up and, Mr. Speaker, you will remember they said, "No, we will not let you in. You have to be screened and go into Hungary by way of Yugoslavia." The Red Cross refused to do that, and properly so. But within 24 hours after that refusal, they recanted and permitted the trucks to go in. How much of what they brought in has gotten to the populace I do not know. How much my suggestion to this high career official contributed to that, I do not know. But I made the suggestion to him less than 24 hours before.

The reason the Communists are in there, the reason the Soviet Communist forces are in there, is because the point which the uprising had reached was a point where the people were rising up against any form of Communist government. That is why they went in. And that is why they have not gone into other places. I do not think they are satisfied with the situation in Poland, but they feel they can give a little, consolidate their position, consolidate their position within the Soviet Union and then they can move in and tighten up once more. The situation is the same as when Khrushchev visited Hungary only a few days ago and Kadar came out with this statement yesterday, that appeared in today's papers and to which the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BENTLEY] so properly and aptly referred.

I agree with the gentleman from Michigan that we cannot have two courses so far as action is concerned by the United Nations in operation at the same time, one where the U. N. can move against democracies when they are declared to be aggressors and the other where the U. N. cannot move against Communist nations when they are declared to be aggressors.

As far as the sending of the United Nations forces into Suez is concerned, I am one of those who regret that England and France did not take all of the Suez Canal and then start negotiating from there. I have no hesitancy in stating that. It was not a question of colonialism, and I introduced the anti-colonialism resolution in the last Congress and it went through under my leadership. It was a question of the violation of an international agreement, the usurpation of power, a question of the future use of a canal which means so much to countless nations throughout the world. Colonialism was not involved. It was a question of use of the canal involving the very life blood of nations and their very existence.

I approved of the U. N. police force going in there. If we can only send it into the Suez and other areas where democratic nations or non-Communist nations are declared to be the aggressors, and the U. N. cannot send a force into the areas of the world where the Communist nations are in control and declared to be the aggressors, then that would have serious implications as to the future existence of the United Nations itself.

One thing is certain, that the United Nations resolutions in relation to Hungary have been completely disregarded.

There are many things we can do. This is a fight of the spirit that is going on in Hungary, within Hungary today. It may be Poland tomorrow, or Lithuania or Czechoslovakia another day, or some other satellite country. This is the fight of men and women who want to be free under their own law. It is the eternal fight for liberty. This is a fight against the worst force and power that the known history of man records. In the past there were trying periods, but usually the aggressor was seeking additional territory, and lust and loot followed in the wake. This is for that, but it is also for the conquest of the mind and the spirit.

The desire for liberty was not man-made and the desire for liberty cannot be man-destroyed. It can be man-suppressed for a period. That is what important parts of the world are undergoing. The people of Hungary have expressed their God-given right, their desire for liberty. But man can never destroy what God created; what man did not create. Man can preserve and strengthen the exercise of liberty or man can suppress it, but man can never destroy it. That is what the battle is that is going on over there, whether in their conscious minds those poor, humble human beings like you and I realize it or not. This eternal fight is going to go on.

There are involved other countries, because the people of other countries who hate the Communist dictator and overlord are looking to America. They are hoping and praying for liberty, for an early day of deliverance. They pray to God and their hopes are toward America. They are evaluating everything we do or that we do not do. There are many things that we can do—there are economic sanctions—volunteers if necessary, the other side uses them—

that is one of the convenient way for them to carry out their designs. Whether or not the point has arrived yet, I am not going to say, but certainly there are many things that we can do. We could publicly say that we will not recognize the Kadar regime. That would be a stimulating action. United Nations observers could at least go to the border. It might be well for this body through one of its committees to appoint a subcommittee to go over there to Austria, officially. That, at least, would have a contributing effect because it would percolate through and get to the people of Hungary and Poland and Czechoslovakia and other countries because one of the great weaknesses of communism is the desire of countless of millions of persons behind the Iron Curtain to some day again be freemen and freewomen under their own laws.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield.

Mr. SCHERER. The gentleman from Massachusetts said that we should do something. You said you would favor withdrawing recognition of the puppet Government of Hungary. Do you not think the most effective thing we could do is to withdraw recognition of the real culprit, the Soviet Union?

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes, absolutely. As a matter of fact, in 1938 or thereabouts, an appropriation bill was before us for consideration. I offered an amendment to the effect that no part of the funds appropriated for the Department of State could be used to maintain an embassy in the Soviet Union. On a teller vote, it was defeated by about 20 votes, as I remember.

Mr. SCHERER. Would that not be the most effective thing we could do insofar as the rest of the world is concerned?

Mr. McCORMACK. If the Soviet Union does not obey or comply with the resolutions passed by the United Nations, then not only that, but the question of the refusal to recognize within the United Nations certain countries properly arises and might also be acted upon. We are not going to win this battle by inaction. We are not going to win this battle by fear. We are not going to win this battle by drifting. To the Communists and to the dictatorships, that is a sign of weakness. It encourages them to go further. To them that is appeasement, and the policy of appeasement, we know from Chamberlain's experience, is the road to war. In addition to what has been said, there is one other subject that I want to discuss. I regret very much, I might add, that this statement has been made. I have here a letter dated December 4 from Robert C. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State. Like other colleagues, I might say, a few days prior to November 19, when I wrote the Secretary of State, I received a telegram from the Emergency Committee for Arms to Hungary. I sent it to the Secretary of State. On December 4, I received a reply from Robert C. Hill in which he acknowledged the receipt of my letter and of the enclosed telegram. In his letter, he said among other things:

As President Eisenhower remarked in his news conference on November 14, "The

United States doesn't now, and never has, advocated open rebellion by an undefended populace against force over which they could not possibly prevail."

In order that the RECORD might be complete, I include at this point the entire letter.

The letter is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 4, 1956.

The Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. McCORMACK: I have received your letter of November 19 transmitting a telegram from the Emergency Committee for Arms to Hungary in which that committee recommends that the United States send arms to the Hungarian people.

It has been the position of the United States Government that the Hungarian situation can best be dealt with through the United Nations. It is our hope that through the joint efforts of freedom loving nations working within and through that organization a solution will be found which will assure that the Hungarian people achieve their aims of greater liberty, national independence and the withdrawal of foreign troops. The provision of arms by the United States, if such were indeed feasible, to the Hungarian insurgents who are faced with the overwhelming might of the Soviet army would not, it is felt, contribute to such a solution. As President Eisenhower remarked in his news conference on November 14, "The United States doesn't now, and never has, advocated open rebellion by an undefended populace against force over which they could not possibly prevail."

I am returning the telegram of the Emergency Committee herewith. Thank you for bringing its views to the Department's attention.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT C. HILL,
Assistant Secretary
(For the Secretary of State).

When I read that, my mind went back to the Declaration of Independence and I said—that is the policy—it is all right for one to think it as the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BENTLEY] well said—my thoughts may be this way, but it is another thing to state a policy. That is the policy of our Government. My mind goes back to the Declaration of Independence. It is well to read and reread these famous documents that are the fundamental law of our land so that once in a while our memory may be refreshed. What does the Declaration of Independence say? In part, it says:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the

same object, evidence a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. McCORMACK asked and was granted 5 additional minutes.)

MR. McCORMACK. In 1775 and 1776, had the head of France said that to the colonies and those in the Continental Army who were fighting for independence, that would be practically saying to them, "Quit. Do not fight. Ask the King of England if he will send over some Duke of England to be King over here while subject to the domination of England, and go through an evolutionary stage."

I wonder if we would have a United States of America today.

Those words are understood abroad. They are understood here. I say it, and I say it with regret, that those words ignore the very history of our country and they constitute an abandonment of one of the most important grounds upon which those who signed the Declaration of Independence based the cause of the colonists.

Are not conditions oppressive over there? Is there anyone who denies it? Are they not living under inhuman conditions? Is not martyrdom being undergone by those people? Is there not just cause for them to rebel? Have they not exhausted all their means? Is there not just cause? That is the very origin of our Government, yet that statement says to Hungary and the people of other subjugated countries: "Do not do it, no matter how oppressive conditions are."

I hope that policy will be changed.

MR. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

MR. McCORMACK. I yield.

MR. FLOOD. It occurred to me that the best witnesses the distinguished majority leader could have to answer that question would be if we could breathe life into the two pictures that stand facing the gentleman on this wall. He has two most eloquent witnesses to give the answer "Yes" to his questions.

MR. McCORMACK. The gentleman is correct. This is what is contained in this letter. That language speaks for itself. We are all Americans and we know the history of our country, and if there ever was just cause for a people under hopeless conditions to rebel, it exists in the people of Hungary.

MR. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

MR. McCORMACK. I yield.

MR. KEATING. Would it not be fair to characterize that sentence to which the gentleman from Massachusetts has referred, as not saying, "Do not do it," but rather as saying, "It is not the policy of our Government as a government to actively encourage an uprising in a foreign country where only hopeless bloodshed can ensue?"

It is not necessary for the Government as such to be on record as encouraging an uprising in a foreign country under such circumstances.

MR. McCORMACK. I do not agree with that latter statement; I certainly disavow that. If we were a dictatorship that is one thing; but the United States is not, and the gentleman's last statement I thoroughly disavow. This is stating to the world what our policy is.

MR. KEATING. In other words, it is the gentleman's position that our Government should actively as a government encourage an uprising in these states?

MR. McCORMACK. No; I did not say that. I said our Government should not actively discourage; that is what I said. That is the meaning of my statement.

MR. KEATING. I agree that we should not actively discourage rebellion. Will the gentleman read that again?

MR. McCORMACK. Yes.

"The United States does not now and never has"—I cannot agree with that, but all right—"The United States of America does not now and never has advocated open rebellion by an undefended populace against force over which they could not possibly prevail."

Many people did not think the Thirteen Colonies could prevail.

MR. KEATING. That statement of our policy simply says we do not advocate—I repeat, advocate—open rebellion where there is no possible chance of success, but it is not saying that our Government has discouraged or will discourage active rebellion.

MR. McCORMACK. Suppose the gentleman lived in Poland and he hated the Communists; or, better still, suppose the gentleman were one of those Hungarians who are involved now; reading that, what would you think? What would you think?

MR. KEATING. The gentleman and I are in no difference as to our desires or objectives. What I am trying to do is to clarify the record as to the position of the Government. The way I interpret the sentence which the gentleman from Massachusetts has read as to our Government's policy and the statement of the President, is that it has not been the policy of our Government actively to encourage open rebellion in another country where it can only result in fruitless slaughter; but he does not say that we are discouraging active rebellion in any foreign country.

MR. McCORMACK. That language is a complete discouragement of it. Furthermore, another statement has been made that we should let these countries go through an evolutionary stage. First, they should go through the state of national communism before striving to get real liberty and emancipation from any communistic control. That is another statement that has been made. The plain letter and spirit of that statement to the people of the subjugated nations is that so far as the United States is concerned the message is: "No matter how justified you are in uprising, we frown upon it and we would not countenance it in any way." That is the clear import of that language.

MR. KEATING. The gentleman and I are in disagreement on the correct interpretation of this statement.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

(By unanimous consent Mr. McCormack was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. KEATING. The President and the administration have been repeatedly criticized by orators of the gentleman's party over the fact that they were too active in starting things in these foreign countries.

Mr. McCORMACK. Who was too active?

Mr. KEATING. This Government.

Mr. McCORMACK. Not me.

Mr. KEATING. I think probably that is true. I do not think my remarks are directed to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. Who else? Who else?

Mr. KEATING. Repeatedly on this floor and elsewhere we have heard objections to the so-called liberation policy of the Government insofar as it differed from the so-called containment policy of the preceding administration. There have been repeated instances of criticism of the Secretary of State because he was alleged to be leading us up to the brink of war by statements that were made to encourage rebellious activities in these satellite governments. The gentleman knows that that has been repeatedly said. I am happy that the gentleman from Massachusetts is directing his criticism along the opposite line.

Mr. McCORMACK. Now, wait a minute; the gentleman is not going to put in the RECORD something that is not in my mind. I did not rise in a critical mood.

Mr. KEATING. I realize that. The gentleman has made an important contribution to the debate on this crucial subject.

Mr. McCORMACK. I rose to compliment the gentleman from Michigan and to state some views of my own, and to call attention to this sentence which is in a letter to me. The letter will be in the RECORD tomorrow. I also wanted to express my regret over this policy and to hope that it will be changed quickly to coincide with the policy of the United States not only since its inception but also since its origin as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. KEATING. And the gentleman prefers the policy which would actively encourage revolution in these satellite governments?

Mr. McCORMACK. Certainly we should never do anything to discourage.

Mr. KEATING. That is right. With that I emphatically agree.

Mr. McCORMACK. On the other hand, encourage, yes. The expression, the operation of encouragement might be a different question under certain circumstances. I would not criticize our Government if it did not expressly state a policy of encouragement, but I do not think that anything should be stated that constitutes a policy of discouragement.

Mr. KEATING. I entirely agree with the gentleman.

Mr. McCORMACK. Which would be an abandonment of the very origin of our own country.

Mr. KEATING. May I point out that a policy of active encouragement is a delicate matter, as the gentleman from Massachusetts realizes. The implications of such a policy are very far-reaching. I know of no instance in our history where we have pursued or, at least, announced a policy of active encouragement of rebellion in another country. On the other hand, certainly we should do nothing which would discourage such action by brave patriots; in fact, our hearts go out in unbounded praise and admiration for a group of people who have the matchless courage to do what the Hungarian people did.

Mr. McCORMACK. We see what has happened in Hungary. Suppose you and I lived in Poland; we despise and hate the Communist form of government; we are looking for the day of deliverance; we want to be a part of the uprising, whether wise or not at a particular time. Our inherent rights are involved when conditions become so oppressive that we can no longer endure them. We see what happened in Hungary. Then we see this statement. We see nothing but sympathy being extended. It would not be difficult for JOHN McCORMACK, if I were in Poland, to say: "What is the use?" seeing what happened in Hungary. I might defer, I might become disillusioned, I might become depressed. We are all human beings. The law of self-preservation might become more prominent in my mind and guide my actions.

A statement of this kind is most unfortunate, I submit, and I hope that it will be rectified quickly to be consistent with the origin and the history of our country.

THE HUNGARIAN SITUATION

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of joining my colleagues who have extended their compliments on the free analysis and presentation of this very difficult problem on Hungary as presented by the distinguished gentleman from Michigan today. I direct the Chair's attention to the remarks made by my colleague from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN] when he referred to the reports of the Katyn Committee and the Committee Against Communist Oppression. I join in presenting those remarks to the House.

I repeat, for the purpose of emphasis, that I seldom have heard a more carefully prepared or studied analysis of a difficult problem than was presented by our friend the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BENTLEY] today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the RECORD, or to re-

vide and extend remarks, was granted as follows:

Mr. CANFIELD (at the request of Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts) and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. DINGELL (at the request of Mr. REUSS) and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. ENGLE (at the request of Mr. ASPINALL) and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MILLER of California and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. HENDERSON in two instances.

Mr. McDONOUGH.

Mr. GATHINGS and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. WALTER and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. ANFUSO (at the request of Mrs. FROST) in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered was granted to:

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts for 5 minutes today.

Mr. POWELL for 1 hour on Thursday, January 10.

ADJOURNMENT

Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) under its previous order, the House adjourned until Thursday, January 10, 1957, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

251. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the audit of Inland Waterways Corporation for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1956, pursuant to the Government Corporation Control Act (31 U. S. C. 841) (H. Doc. No. 47); to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered to be printed.

252. A letter from the Acting Director, Administrative Office of the United States Courts, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to provide for the appointment of additional circuit and district judges, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

253. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the review of local participation on flood control and navigation projects of the Corps of Engineers (Civil Functions), Department of the Army, pursuant to the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 (31 U. S. C. 53), and the Accounting and Auditing Act of 1950 (31 U. S. C. 67); to the Committee on Government Operations.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. HOLIFIELD:

H. R. 2125. A bill to reorganize the civil defense functions of the Federal Govern-

ment, to establish a Federal Department of Civil Defense, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Montana:

H. R. 2126. A bill to amend the wheat marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ASPINALL:

H. R. 2127. A bill to amend the Revised Organic Act of the Virgin Islands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H. R. 2128. A bill to establish a pension program for veterans of World War I; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BAILEY:

H. R. 2129. A bill to increase annuities payable to certain annuitants from the civil-service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H. R. 2130. A bill to establish a program of economic relief for distressed areas through a system of loans and grants in aid; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BARING (by request):

H. R. 2131. A bill to amend section 27 of the Mineral Leasing Act of February 25, 1920, as amended (30 U. S. C., sec. 184), in order to promote the development of phosphate on the public domain; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BARING:

H. R. 2132. A bill to permit the free marketing of newly mined gold; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BARTLETT:

H. R. 2133. A bill to amend the Organic Act of the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BENTLEY:

H. R. 2134. A bill to insure that the scheduled reductions in the manufacturers excise tax on automobiles and other vehicles, and on parts and accessories therefor, will take effect on April 1, 1957; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BOWLER:

H. R. 2135. A bill to authorize the State of Illinois and the Metropolitan Sanitary District of Greater Chicago, under the direction of the Secretary of the Army, to test, on a 3-year basis, the effect of increasing the diversion of water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois Waterway, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BROOKS of Texas:

H. R. 2136. A bill to amend section 124 (c) of title 28 of the United States Code so as to transfer Shelby County from the Beaumont to the Tyler division of the eastern district of Texas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BUCKLEY:

H. R. 2137. A bill to authorize the construction of certain works of improvement in the Niagara River for power and other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BUDGE:

H. R. 2138. A bill to abolish free transmission of official Government mail matter and certain other mail matter; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H. R. 2139. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to require reasonable bonds from packers; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 2140. A bill prohibiting lithographing or engraving on envelopes sold by the Post Office Department, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 2141. A bill to amend section 4 of the act entitled "A bill to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes", approved October 15, 1914; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2142. A bill to amend the Sherman Act to declare the primacy of free enterprise,

and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2143. A bill to amend the Clayton Act, as amended, by requiring prior notification of corporate mergers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2144. A bill to amend the Clayton Act, as amended, to establish standards for the organization and operation of Government Advisory Groups; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2145. A bill to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ENGLE:

H. R. 2146. A bill to amend the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FISHER:

H. R. 2147. A bill to provide for the construction by the Secretary of the Interior of the San Angelo reclamation project, Texas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FLYNT:

H. R. 2148. A bill to provide that certain payments shall be made to the Georgia Agricultural Experiment Station under the conditions which obtained before the enactment of Public Law 352, 84th Congress; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mrs. GRIFFITHS:

H. R. 2149. A bill to reorganize the civil-defense functions of the Federal Government, to establish a Federal Department of Civil Defense, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. HALE:

H. R. 2150. A bill to authorize loans by the Small Business Administration to alleviate unemployment in areas of substantial labor surplus; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. HARRISON of Virginia:

H. R. 2151. A bill to amend certain provisions of the Tariff Act of 1930 relative to import duties on certain coarse wool; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HILL:

H. R. 2152. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Veterans' Administration domiciliary facility at Fort Logan, Colo.; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HILLINGS:

H. R. 2153. A bill to provide for an additional Assistant Attorney General; to establish a bipartisan Commission on Civil Rights in the executive branch of the Government; to provide means of further securing and protecting the right to vote; to strengthen the civil-rights statutes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOLIFIELD:

H. R. 2154. A bill providing for a civilian atomic power acceleration program; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

By Mr. HUDDLESTON:

H. R. 2155. A bill to amend section 17 of the War Claims Act of 1948 so as to increase the classes of persons entitled to receive payment of certain claims under such section, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 2156. A bill to provide for aid to the States in the fields of practical nursing and auxiliary hospital personnel services; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. KARSTEN:

H. R. 2157. A bill to amend section 8 of the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H. R. 2158. A bill to create a Joint Committee on Extraterrestrial Exploration; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. KILGORE:

H. R. 2159. A bill to reorganize the civil-defense functions of the Federal Government, to establish a Federal Department of

Civil Defense, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. KRUEGER:

H. R. 2160. A bill to amend section 334 (e) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, relating to increased allotments for durum wheat; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. R. 2161. A bill to increase from 5 percent to 10 percent the amount which corporations may deduct for tax purposes for charitable purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLER of California:

H. R. 2162. A bill to establish on public lands of the United States a national wilderness preservation system for the permanent good of the whole people, to provide for the protection and administration of areas within this system by existing Federal agencies and for the gathering and dissemination of information to increase the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness for its appropriate use and enjoyment by the people, to establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. POFF:

H. R. 2163. A bill to provide for the establishment of a purchase program for domestic manganese ore for the southern Appalachian area; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. POWELL:

H. R. 2164. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide increases in benefits, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 2165. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide full annuities for individuals who have completed 30 years of service; to provide annuities thereunder to equal 50 percent of taxable wages of the 5 years of highest earnings; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 2166. A bill to provide that railroad employees may retire on a full annuity at age 60 or after serving 30 years; to provide that such annuity for any month shall be not less than one-half of the individual's average monthly compensation for the 5 years of highest earnings, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RADWAN:

H. R. 2167. A bill to increase annuities payable to certain annuitants from the civil-service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. RAINS:

H. R. 2168. A bill to prohibit the disposal of certain surplus real property; to the Committee on Public Works.

H. R. 2169. A bill to provide an additional income tax exemption for a taxpayer supporting a child who is an invalid; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. REECE of Tennessee:

H. R. 2170. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to consummate desirable land exchanges; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H. R. 2171. A bill to amend the Bankruptcy Act to limit the exception of Federal taxes from a discharge in bankruptcy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RHODES of Arizona:

H. R. 2172. A bill to adjust the limitations imposed on veterans outpatient dental care; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2173. A bill to provide for national cemeteries in the State of Arizona; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H. R. 2174. A bill directing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to permit retired officers and enlisted men to use available hospital facilities; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2175. A bill to provide for the utilization of the Colorado River development fund in the States of the lower division; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H. R. 2176. A bill to include certain service performed for Members of Congress as annuitable service under the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts (by request):

H. R. 2177. A bill to modify certain bars to payment of pension under part III, Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2178. A bill to authorize the appointment of doctors of chiropractic in the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2179. A bill to amend part III of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a) to liberalize the basis for, and increase the monthly rates of, disability pension awards; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2180. A bill to provide increases in service-connected disability compensation and to increase dependency allowances; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2181. A bill to amend Public Law 881, 84th Congress, to grant dependency and indemnity compensation to widows of deceased veterans who at the time of death are disabled 50 percent or more and whose disabilities are service connected; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2182. A bill to amend title III of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act to extend the loan benefits thereunder to all unmarried widows of eligible veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mrs. ST. GEORGE:

H. R. 2183. A bill to repeal the retailers excise tax on handbags; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2184. A bill to amend the Davis-Bacon Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H. R. 2185. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide for the deletion, from the records of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, of any entries showing wages paid for service as an employee of the Communist Party; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2186. A bill to provide an adequate, balanced, and orderly flow of milk and dairy products in interstate and foreign commerce; to stabilize prices of milk and dairy products; to impose a stabilization fee on the marketing of milk and butterfat; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 2187. A bill to amend title I of the National Housing Act to increase the maximum amount of certain loans which can be insured by the Federal Housing Commissioner thereunder; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. SCUDDER:

H. R. 2188. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to reimburse owners of lands acquired under the Federal reclamation laws for their moving expenses, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. SCRIVNER:

H. R. 2189. A bill to provide for payments in lieu of taxes on account of the real property constituting Sunflower Village, Johnson County, Kans.; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H. R. 2190. A bill to authorize tax refunds on cigarettes lost in the floods of 1951; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SEELY-BROWN:

H. R. 2191. A bill to amend Veterans Regulation No. 10 to provide that the term "child"

shall include a child of a veteran who is a member of the veteran's household and who becomes permanently incapable of self-support; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2192. A bill to extend the gratuitous insurance benefits granted by subsection 602 (d) of the National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940, as amended, to parents of certain deceased members of the Armed Forces without regard to the dependency of such parents, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. STEED:

H. R. 2193. A bill to encourage the establishment of voluntary pension plans by self-employed individuals; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TALLE:

H. R. 2194. A bill making the 17th day of September in each year a legal holiday to be known as Constitution Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2195. A bill to extend rural mail delivery service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas (by request):

H. R. 2196. A bill to provide medical and hospital treatment for certain non-service-connected disabilities; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. TOLLEFSON:

H. R. 2197. A bill to allow credit or refund of gift tax erroneously paid by reason of treating nontaxable divisions of community property as gifts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2198. A bill to increase annuities payable to certain annuitants from the civil service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. WILLIS:

H. R. 2199. A bill to provide for the improvement of Fresh Water Bayou, La.; to the Committee on Public Works.

H. R. 2200. A bill to provide for the improvement of Bayous Petit Anse, Tigre, and Carlin, La.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WILSON of Indiana:

H. R. 2201. A bill to grant a pension of \$100 per month to all honorably discharged veterans of World War I who are 60 years of age; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. WITHROW:

H. R. 2202. A bill to establish the Federal Agency for Handicapped, to define its duties, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H. R. 2203. A bill to increase the rates of basic compensation of officers and employees in the field service of the Post Office Department; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H. R. 2204. A bill to extend certain benefits to persons who served in the Armed Forces of the United States in Mexico or on its borders during the period beginning May 9, 1916, and ending April 6, 1917, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2205. A bill to provide for increases in the annuities of annuitants under the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. ASHMORE (by request):

H. R. 2206. A bill to prescribe the weight to be given to evidence of tests of alcohol in the blood, urine, or breath of persons tried in the District of Columbia for certain offenses committed while operating vehicles; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. ASPINALL (by request):

H. R. 2207. A bill to amend section 621 of the National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940 to provide that policies of insurance issued thereunder shall be convertible and participating; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2208. A bill to amend section 620 of the National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940, as amended, to alter the period for applying for insurance thereunder; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2209. A bill to modify the basis for award of gratuitous national service life insurance to a dependent parent; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2210. A bill to provide a 1-year period during which certain veterans may be granted national service life insurance; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BUDGE:

H. R. 2211. A bill to require Federal officers, agencies, and employees to act in accordance with and submit to the laws of the several States relative to the control, appropriation, use, and distribution of water and providing that the United States shall sue and be sued in the courts of such State in litigation arising therefrom; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H. R. 2212. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to include in the definition of "agriculture" the maintenance and operation of ditches, canals, reservoirs, and waterways when maintained and operated for farming purposes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H. R. 2213. A bill to reorganize the civil-defense functions of the Federal Government, to establish a Federal Department of Civil Defense, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. GARMATZ:

H. R. 2214. A bill to reorganize the civil-defense functions of the Federal Government, to establish a Federal Department of Civil Defense, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. HALE:

H. R. 2215. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 in order to provide tax relief for small corporations and more equitable tax treatment for persons engaged in small businesses, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HESELTON:

H. R. 2216. A bill authorizing the preparation of detailed plans for the Littleville Reservoir on the middle branch of the Westfield River in Massachusetts; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HUDDLESTON:

H. R. 2217. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that a child shall be considered the adopted child of a deceased individual where such individual, before his death, had filed an appropriate petition for the adoption of such child; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2218. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that the wife or widow of an insured individual shall be deemed to have been living with him, at the time required for entitlement to benefits, if at any such time they were separated without fault on her part; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2219. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction for interest and taxes paid by the taxpayer for his spouse or for a dependent; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2220. A bill to establish a Medical Advisory Committee on Alcoholism in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KARSTEN:

H. R. 2221. A bill to extend the time for making application for compensation for unused leave accumulated on September 1, 1946, by members or former members of the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H. R. 2222. A bill to increase from \$600 to \$700 the personal income-tax exemptions of a taxpayer (including the exemption for a

spouse, the exemption for a dependent, and the additional exemption for old age or blindness; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LIPSCOMB:

H. R. 2223. A bill to reorganize the civil-defense functions of the Federal Government, to establish a Federal Department of Civil Defense, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

H. R. 2224. A bill providing for payment to the State of Washington by the United States for the cost of replacing and relocating a portion of secondary highway of such State which was condemned and taken by the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2225. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934, so as to direct the Federal Communications Commission to provide for the licensing of television reflector facilities and VHF translator facilities; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 2226. A bill to increase annuities payable to certain annuitants from the civil service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MARSHALL:

H. R. 2227. A bill to amend sections 4081 and 4082 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to include wholesale distributors within the definition of producers of gasoline, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLER of California:

H. R. 2228. A bill to readjust postal classification on certain educational materials, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H. R. 2229. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, to provide for utilization of commercial marine terminal facilities by the United States; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MILLER of Nebraska:

H. R. 2230. A bill to implement the 10-year "Mission 66" plan that has been undertaken for the public benefit concerning the rehabilitation, improvement and preservation of the national park system, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H. R. 2231. A bill authorizing the modification of the general comprehensive plan of improvement for the Missouri River Basin to include certain flood-control works in the Gering Valley, Nebr.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. O'KONSKI:

H. R. 2232. A bill to amend section 8 of the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H. R. 2233. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide a new method for determining monthly compensation in computing annuities, and to eliminate all restrictions upon the right of a spouse to receive benefits simultaneously under that act and the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RAINS:

H. R. 2234. A bill to amend the Settlement of War Claims Act of 1928 so that certain awards of the Mixed Claims Commission having a residual balance of \$15,000 or less will be paid in full immediately and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 2235. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to exempt from the manufacturers' excise tax certain automobiles furnished without charge to schools for use in driver training programs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2236. A bill to amend the National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940 to author-

ize the Secretary of the Treasury to use up to 20 percent of the national service life insurance fund for the purchase of loans guaranteed under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. REECE of Tennessee:

H. R. 2237. A bill authorizing the transfer of certain property of the Veterans' Administration in Johnson City, Tenn. to Johnson City National Farm Loan Association and the East Tennessee Production Credit Association, local units of the Farm Credit Administration; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. REUSS:

H. R. 2238. A bill to increase annuities payable to certain annuitants from the civil service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. RIEHLMAN:

H. R. 2239. A bill to reorganize the civil defense functions of the Federal Government, to establish a Federal Department of Civil Defense, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. SIKES:

H. R. 2240. A bill to establish rules of interpretation governing questions of the effect of acts of Congress on State laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2241. A bill to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to provide that surplus real property of the United States shall be disposed of only after giving former owners thereof an opportunity to repurchase such property; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. STEED:

H. R. 2242. A bill to authorize the establishment, maintenance, and operation of auxiliary communication networks composed of licensed amateur radio operators for military radio communications; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas (by request):

H. R. 2243. A bill to increase the rates of compensation for disability incurred in combat or outside the continental limits of the United States during a war, campaign, expedition, or conflict; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 2244. A bill to amend chapter 209, 58 Statutes at Large, which was enacted as Public Law 314, 78th Congress, approved May 27, 1944 to provide for payment of pensions and compensation to certain persons who are receiving retired pay; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. THOMAS:

H. R. 2245. A bill to provide for the modification of the Houston Ship Channel, Tex.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. TRIMBLE:

H. R. 2246. A bill authorizing the modification of the general plan for the comprehensive development of the White River Basin to provide for additional hydroelectric power development, for the control of floods, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WHITTEN:

H. R. 2247. A bill to provide that the Secretary of the Army shall return certain mineral interests in land acquired by him for flood-control purposes, to the former owners of such land; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WIGGLESWORTH:

H. R. 2248. A bill to amend subparagraph (A) of subparagraph (3) of subsection (a) of section 1033 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New York:

H. R. 2249. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to exempt certain retired officers of the Armed Forces from the

operation of section 216 thereof; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2250. A bill to exempt churches from the excise tax on bowling alleys, billiard and pool tables; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BARING:

H. J. Res. 129. Joint resolution to establish a joint committee to investigate the gold-mining industry; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. FISHER:

H. J. Res. 130. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RHODES of Arizona:

H. J. Res. 131. Joint resolution directing the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Interior, through the Bureau of Reclamation, to study the economic and engineering feasibility of acquiring riparian rights from the Republic of Mexico to water in the Gulf of California for the piping and pumping of water from the Gulf of California to Arizona for irrigation purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ROGERS of Florida:

H. J. Res. 132. Joint resolution designating the fourth Sunday of September as Senior Citizens Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BENNETT of Florida:

H. Con. Res. 50. Concurrent resolution to create a joint congressional committee to make a full and complete study and investigation of all matters connected with the election, succession, and duties of the President and Vice President; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. GORDON:

H. Con. Res. 51. Concurrent resolution to provide for the establishment of a Joint Committee on Central Intelligence; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. KEATING:

H. Con. Res. 52. Concurrent resolution condemning recent Communist tactics in Hungary and calling for investigation by United Nations of violations of its Charter; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. REUSS:

H. Con. Res. 53. Concurrent resolution to provide for the establishment of a Joint Committee on Central Intelligence; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SHELLEY:

H. Con. Res. 54. Concurrent resolution to provide for the establishment of a Joint Committee on Central Intelligence; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. Res. 84. Resolution to provide funds for the Committee on the Judiciary; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H. Res. 85. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to conduct studies and investigations, and to make inquiries, relating to the operation of the monetary and credit structure of the United States; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. RAINS:

H. Res. 86. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to conduct studies and investigations, and to make inquiries relating to housing; to the Committee on Rules.

H. Res. 87. Resolution to provide funds for the expenses of the studies, investigations, and inquiries authorized by House Resolution 86; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. ROGERS of Florida:

H. Res. 88. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House to require the yeas and nays in the case of final action on appropriation bills; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASPINALL:

H. R. 2251. A bill directing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain property in the State of Colorado to William M. Proper; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BAILEY:

H. R. 2252. A bill for the relief of Stephanos J. Cotsoradis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BAUMHART:

H. R. 2253. A bill for the relief of Arnold Rosenthal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2254. A bill for the relief of Carmela Lanza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. BOLTON:

H. R. 2255. A bill for the relief of Raymond H. Hsieh; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 2256. A bill for the relief of Elizabeth Lucie Leon (also known as Lucie Noel); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COUDERT:

H. R. 2257. A bill for the relief of Han Hong Wang and An-Yin Chen Wang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H. R. 2258. A bill for the relief of Rita Keskula Vigla; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GATHINGS:

H. R. 2259. A bill to provide for the conveyance of all right, title, and interest of the United States to certain real property in Prairie County, Ark.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HALE:

H. R. 2260. A bill for the relief of Anita F. Crowe; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAYS of Arkansas:

H. R. 2261. A bill for the relief of the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAYS of Ohio:

H. R. 2262. A bill for the relief of Gertrud (Scholz) Bayer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HUDDLESTON:

H. R. 2263. A bill for the relief of White River Distributors, Inc., and certain other creditors of the Westmoreland Manganese Corp.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HYDE:

H. R. 2264. A bill for the relief of Donald F. Thompson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KARSTEN:

H. R. 2265. A bill for the relief of Clifford Oesterle; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MICHEL:

H. R. 2266. A bill for the relief of Emilio Aluen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MILLER of California:

H. R. 2267. A bill for the relief of Charlie Sylvester Correll; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2268. A bill for the relief of Guadalupe Banuelos-Haro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2269. A bill for the relief of Truck & Axle Manufacturing Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2270. A bill for the relief of Billy Shao-Ru Hwang (Wong); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2271. A bill for the relief of Doring Hampac Mendoza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2272. A bill for the relief of Ygnacia Osequera T. De Montes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2273. A bill for the relief of Jose Luis Galvez Buenrostro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2274. A bill for the relief of Ema Goncalves Da Silva; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2275. A bill for the relief of Edgardo Villanueva Del Rosario; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MILLS:

H. R. 2276. A bill for the relief of White River Distributors, Inc., and certain other creditors of the Westmoreland Manganese Corp.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOSS:

H. R. 2277. A bill for the relief of Gumaro Rubalcava-Quezada (also known as Gumero Rubalcava-Quezada and Gelasio Juareg-Lopez); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2278. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Maria Guadalupe Aguilar-Buenrostro de Montano (also known as Victoria Rosas de Montano); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2279. A bill for the relief of Antonio Alejandres-Diaz (also known as Antonio Alejandres-Valencia); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2280. A bill for the relief of Joseph Wha Dee Loo, his wife Margaret Chan Loo, and their three minor children Mary, Josephine, and John Loo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2281. A bill for the relief of Kim Sheung Fong and Kim Shing Fong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2282. A bill for the relief of Ivo Palva; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POWELL:

H. R. 2283. A bill for the relief of Cornelia Minus; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2284. A bill for the relief of Ralph (Raffaele) Gargiulo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2285. A bill for the relief of John H. Orth; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2286. A bill for the relief of Tom Pritchard; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2287. A bill for the relief of Irma Flora Bissessar; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2288. A bill for the relief of Charles Whaley; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2289. A bill for the relief of Sharon Elizabeth Branch (Yumi Ishiki); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2290. A bill for the relief of Philip I. Veira; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2291. A bill for the relief of Abdul Ali Munshi (also known as Abdul Mojid Munshi); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2292. A bill for the relief of Emilio Poglianich; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2293. A bill for the relief of Valeriano Melchior; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2294. A bill for the relief of Jude Anthony Branch (Koji Aoyagi); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2295. A bill for the relief of Gordon Seymour Peter Beckles; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2296. A bill for the relief of Horace Wilberforce King; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2297. A bill for the relief of Ding Lee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2298. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Emmeline Carter Gay; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2299. A bill for the relief of Alberto Teodoli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2300. A bill for the relief of Andor Muller and Rosa Muller; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2301. A bill for the relief of Lloyd D. Ebanks; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2302. A bill for the relief of Phyllis L. Ware; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2303. A bill for the relief of Dudley Cheesman (also known as Dudley T. Whitaker); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2304. A bill for the relief of Julian Barber; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2305. A bill for the relief of Max Karl Roder; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2306. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to receive Zaudie Makuria, a citizen and subject of Ethiopia, for instruction at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H. R. 2307. A bill for the relief of Natan Zepelovitch; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2308. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Prudence Hicks; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2309. A bill for the relief of Ryon Gzoon Chough and her minor child; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2310. A bill for the relief of Atara Couse Headley; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2311. A bill for the relief of Joyce Delores Evans; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2312. A bill for the relief of Pietro Pipitone; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2313. A bill for the relief of Leon Popiel; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2314. A bill for the relief of George McPherson Gray (Reginald Pugh); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2315. A bill for the relief of Shlomo Zalman Blumenfeld (Sol Blum); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2316. A bill for the relief of James Neville Beaton; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2317. A bill for the relief of Thomas A. Harris, Mrs. Lydia E. Harris, and Olney Elva Harris; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2318. A bill for the relief of Rolando Aravena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2319. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Louise Nanton; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2320. A bill for the relief of Concepcion Gallofin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2321. A bill for the relief of Rista Milosevic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2322. A bill for the relief of Vincenzo Strazzullo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2323. A bill for the relief of Arthur Frank Moore; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2324. A bill for the relief of Americo Discepolo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2325. A bill for the relief of Anthony Valamvanos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2326. A bill for the relief of Amin Rahmin Roubin, Mrs. Esther Mordkhay Roubin, and Abdul Rahmin Roubin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2327. A bill for the relief of Herbert Arnold Sparks; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2328. A bill for the relief of Walter Adolphus Burke; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2329. A bill for the relief of Clayton Holmes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2330. A bill for the relief of Patrick Joseph Blewett; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2331. A bill for the relief of Cecil Edgar Deonarine, Mrs. Gloria Deonarine (nee Ramjattansingh), and Jessel J. Deonarine; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2332. A bill for the relief of Hiromi Kashiwagi Jones; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2333. A bill for the relief of Joaquim Tomas Lleno; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2334. A bill for the relief of Feliciano Lazay Manendez and Josefina Vallin y Lambillo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2335. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Anatoly Batenko and Vladimir Batenko; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'BRIEN of New York:

H. R. 2336. A bill for the relief of Moosa Ebrahimian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2337. A bill for the relief of Abdullah Ibrahim Hakim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REECE of Tennessee:

H. R. 2338. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Tennessee to hear, determine, and render judgment upon any claim arising out of personal property damage sustained by the Security Feed & Seed Co. of Johnson City, Tenn.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2339. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Soledad Tejera Suarez Herreros and her son, Rafael; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REUSS:

H. R. 2340. A bill for the relief of William R. and Alice M. Reardon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RHODES of Arizona:

H. R. 2341. A bill for the relief of Simon Brill and others; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2342. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Jytte Starel Synodis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROGERS of Florida:

H. R. 2343. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Katarzyna Sachnowska; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

H. R. 2344. A bill for the relief of Margaret Shand (Chanslor); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2345. A bill for the relief of Alice Selim Nikhla Fakhouri (also known as Denise Fakhouri); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2346. A bill for the relief of Irmgard S. King; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2347. A bill for the relief of Robert M. Deckard; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STAGGERS:

H. R. 2348. A bill for the relief of Constantinos F. Agoris; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas:

H. R. 2349. A bill for the relief of Manolis N. Triantafillou; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WEAVER:

H. R. 2350. A bill for the relief of Nathaniel Wong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New York:

H. R. 2351. A bill for the relief of Giovanni Battista Campoli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2352. A bill for the relief of Ping-Kwan Fong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILSON of Indiana:

H. R. 2353. A bill for the relief of Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2354. A bill for the relief of the estate of Leatha Horn; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WITHROW:

H. R. 2355. A bill for the relief of A. W. Mussallem; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ZELENKO:

H. R. 2356. A bill for the relief of Tzapik Bagdassarian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WALTER:

H. J. Res. 133. Joint resolution for the relief of certain spouses and minor children of citizens of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

29. Mr. MUMMA presented a resolution adopted by the 87th annual meeting of the house of delegates of the Pennsylvania State Dental Society, Harrisburg, Pa., in support of legislation amending present tax laws to permit dentists to set aside voluntarily certain amounts for retirement programs that would not be taxable during the years in which earned; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Radio Address by Hon. Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania, on December 14, 1956, Entitled "The Bill of Rights and Hungary's Fight for Freedom," Sponsored by the Bill of Rights Commemorative Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 7, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND HUNGARY'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

One hundred and sixty-five years ago tomorrow, Virginia ratified the first 10 amendments to our Constitution now known as the Bill of Rights. Virginia's ratification wrote the Bill of Rights into the basic law of our land. The far-sighted vision of James Madison and a few other Founding Fathers laid down the granite foundation stone not only of our basic freedoms but of our whole American concept of the rights of man about which Europeans dreamed.

And before I turn to pressing problems of today let me observe that there is a forgotten amendment which even the Supreme Court of the United States seems to have shoved into the deep freezer. I refer to the 10th or last amendment. Let me read it to you:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Let every American remember that—"are reserved to the States or to the people."

From paying my humble tribute to the great founders of our Nation it seems appropriate tonight to speak out in behalf of the valiant Hungarian Freedom Fighters. Perhaps only a few Hungarians knew anything about our Bill of Rights. But they did understand just how precious is human freedom—and they gladly gave their lives, 50,000 or more, in a desperate and well-nigh hopeless attempt to obtain even a little freedom for themselves and their children.

Seven weeks ago the entire free world was thrilled and astonished by the news from Hungary. The impossible and the unbelievable had been achieved. The Iron Curtain had been smashed wide open by fighting Hungarian students, workers, and unorganized white collar workers. Armed with little more than magnificent courage and bare hands these heroic Hungarian Freedom Fighters had scattered their brutal secret police like dust before a gale. Hungarians had risen almost as a man against the full might of their Communist oppressors. The Red-dominated Hungarian army simply melted away or defected wholesale to the side of liberty.

By November 3 it was clear that the Hungarian patriots were in firm control of most of the country. The toppling to the ground of a huge statue of Stalin in Budapest was symbolic of the imminent collapse or overthrow of the whole Soviet system of terror and slavery.

Then came the night of November 3-4. By noon of Sunday, the 4th, the world once more had to swallow the bitter lesson of Communist perfidy and treachery. The bitter truth that so many of our wishful-thinking Pollyanna seem unable to learn is that you cannot do business with or ever trust Communists. You all know the rest of the sickening story. Masses of savage Asiatic troops poured across the frontier to overwhelm the poorly armed and exhausted freedom fighters. The Soviets brought in 5,000 tanks which systematically wiped out small units of brave men and boys—yes, and some women, too—armed only with rifles,

hand grenades, and homemade Molotov cocktails. Soviet commanders kept their infantry safely out of action. Entire buildings and blocks of dwellings were blasted to rubble by Soviet tanks if they appeared to house a few snipers.

The death toll has been estimated as over 50,000. The full, unlimited horror of Communist terror was unleashed by the super-criminals in the Kremlin. Long trains of sealed cattle cars, packed with the youth of Hungary, began their awful journeys to the slow-death camps of Siberia.

I have just returned from 5 days in Vienna. I went to Austria to do what I could to expedite entry into the United States of as many Hungarian patriots as possible. As you know, Hungarians have been fleeing from the Soviet slaughterhouse at the rate of 5,000 or 6,000 a day. Over 90,000 in Austria are now straining the resources of that small and impoverished country.

With typical Communist disregard for the truth, my visit to Austria was described by a Russian representative in the United Nations as "an indication of how definite United States circles are interested in lending special political tinge to the refugee question." Humanitarian motives are unknown to these beasts of the Kremlin.

The attitude of the refugee Hungarians surprised me. Many of them had no desire to emigrate to this country or anywhere else overseas. They want to stay as close as possible to the borders of their own country. They hope to go back in a matter of a few months when their country is freed of Soviet troops and Communist terror. I must admit that I was deeply impressed by their demeanor and fervor of their patriotism. They love their country and have no desire to leave it forever.

The Hungarian refugees with whom I talked were fearless, dignified, and proud. Unlike other refugees who often are completely demoralized and beaten down, these Hungarians held their heads high. Exhausted after days of bitter hand-to-hand fighting